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INTERNATIONAL

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## Brandt Survives Ouster Attempt by Two Votes

By David Binder

BONN, April 27 (NYT)—West Germany's governing coalition held back today an attempt by the powerful conservative opposition to topple Chancellor Willy Brandt and replace him with Rainer Barzel.

The Christian Democratic Union and its Bavarian ally, the Christian Social Union, got 247 votes for its Bundestag no-confidence vote against Mr. Brandt—two short of the required absolute majority in the 496-member lower house of parliament.

A tumult broke out in the Bundestag when the tally was prematurely disclosed at 1:12 p.m. Deputies of the governing coalition of Social Democrats and Free Democrats shouted in triumph and embraced each other.

They surrounded Chancellor Brandt and some tried to hoist him to their shoulders. Their cheers soon turned to jeers and hissing as the opposition, Mr. Barzel slumped in his seat facing

the cabinet benches, shaking his head in dejection, his cheeks drained of color.

Not until the Bundestag president, Kai Uwe von Hassel, announced the official result of the balloting seven minutes later did Mr. Barzel pull himself together and go to shake hands with the chancellor.

All across Germany citizens demonstrated with joy over the vote, dancing in the streets, kissing strangers, honking automobile horns.

The vote gave the 30-month-old coalition a new lease on life and the possibility of pushing through its program of ratifying its controversial 1970 goodwill treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland in parliament next week.

But it was unclear tonight how long the lease would last. Two coalition deputies from the Free Democratic party, Gerhard Kleinbaum and Ernst von Kuhlmann-Stumm, announced that they had voted for Mr. Barzel and said they intended to resign their

mandates. A third Free Democratic fence-jumper, Wilhelm Helms, hinted that he might have abstained today but would vote for the Eastern détente treaties.

This left the coalition led by Mr. Brandt and his Foreign Minister, Walter Scheel of the Free Democratic party, in doubt whether it still possesses the 249 votes needed to govern.

For this reason the government decided to delay a second critical Bundestag vote tonight, a ballot on the federal budget. It would have laid bare the number of deputies still supporting the coalition regime.

Against bitter objections by Mr. Barzel, the government adopted filibustering tactics, on the apparent assumption that there would be more clarity about the vote strengths after the coalition parties had conferred once more with potential wavering members in the ranks.

Throughout the late afternoon and evening there was talk here of new elections, a difficult maneuver under the 1949 federal constitution and one that appears to require the backing of all parties.

Many leading conservative politicians said they would like new elections. Mr. Barzel himself appeared hesitant, possibly because of the defeat he suffered today. The government parties, elated over their narrow victory, were obviously unwilling to take up at this moment the unprecedented matter of new elections falling within their regime's normal four-year term.

Should a stalemate develop in the Bundestag, the most likely time for federal elections would be in mid-June, before the great vacation wave starts in West Germany.

Few would be happy about such a decision. Chancellor Brandt prefers to push through ratification of his Eastern treaties. Mr. Barzel knows that the polls already count him a loser in interim elections. The electorate is tired of election slogans after two months of being bombarded, countrywide, with warnings and appeals connected with last Sunday's state vote in Baden-Württemberg.

The Bundestag vote on whether to replace the government— (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

## Bull's-Eye Landing by Apollo-16

Three Astronauts Are 'Doing Fine'

ABOARD USS TICONDEROGA, April 27 (AP)—Apollo-16's three explorers returned to earth today, their spaceship splashing safely into the Pacific Ocean to end a lunar voyage that should vastly enrich man's knowledge of the moon.

The command ship, carrying Capt. John W. Young, Lt. Col. Charles M. Duke Jr. and Comdr. Thomas K. Mattingly, made a bull's-eye parachute landing ending its 1381 million-mile journey within about one mile of its carrier at 1944 GMT.

Television cameras on deck and in a helicopter relayed clear pictures of the splashdown in a warm, choppy sea to countries around the world via satellite. Touchdown was 209 miles southwest of Christmas Island.

President Nixon, who followed the return of the astronauts to the White House, issued a statement welcoming the crew back to earth and saluting them "for a job well done."

"Our condition is outstanding," one of the astronauts said just before landing.

The spacecraft turned upside down on splashdown, which is common on Apollo landings, and the astronauts inflated bags to right it.

Returning with the astronauts were 245 pounds of rocks, dust and data they feel might contain the evidence of volcanic activity on the moon which they sought when they started out 11 days ago.

The TV cameras recorded the command ship, named Casper, as it descended toward the Pacific and captured the unloading of the three large 85-foot-diameter orange and white parachutes.

The craft had survived a blazing dive through the atmosphere during which temperatures of more than 4,000 degrees blistered the protective heat shield.

There was no repetition of the problem on Apollo-15, last summer, when one of the chutes collapsed and the astronauts had a squallier-than-normal landing.

"Just Super"

"We're doing fine," came the report from the spacecraft after it was righted. "Just super," Col. Duke said.

A helicopter was overhead within minutes to drop frogmen into the water to secure the bobbing spacecraft.

Another chopper hoisted the three astronauts aboard and deposited them on the deck of the Ticonderoga 35 minutes after landing.

The astronauts stepped briskly into a red carpet for welcoming ceremonies, and then each made a few remarks.

At the same time, the ban on marches in the troubled province was lifted.

Miss Devlin, a Roman Catholic militant and member of the House of Commons here, has been sentenced twice to six months in prison and received a suspended six-month sentence for organizing civil rights demonstrations. Another militant Catholic member of Parliament, Frank McNamara, faced the same penalties.

By no coincidence, the amnesty covers all penalties imposed since last Christmas. That was when Miss Devlin and Mr. McNamara



WELCOME ABOARD—Apollo-16 astronauts, from left, John Young, Charles Duke and Thomas Mattingly, stepping onto deck of aircraft carrier after return to earth yesterday.

## Still Candidate at Convention

## Muskie Quits Active Campaigning

WASHINGTON, April 27 (NYT)—Sen. Edmund S. Muskie, D., Maine, today withdrew as a candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination in the remaining state primaries. But he declared that he would still be a candidate for the nomination at the convention in July.

In a nationally televised press conference, Sen. Muskie, blamed lack of funds for his withdrawal. "I do so with regret," he said, "but I have no choice. I do not have the money to continue."

Sen. Muskie, who, before the primaries began, was a heavy favorite to become the Democratic candidate, released the 128 delegates he had won so far so that "they should feel free to reassess their commitment."

However, he added, "At the urging of friends and supporters around the country, I do not withdraw my candidacy."

Names on Ballots

Sen. Muskie told newsmen that even though he would not campaign, his name would remain on the ballot in several primaries.

The senator's move came after two months of poor showings in various state contests clinched by defeats in the Massachusetts and Pennsylvania primaries. It leaves Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D., Minn., and Sen. George S. McGovern, D., S.D., as the favorites for the nomination.

Despite losing his delegates, Sen. Muskie apparently will attempt to hold on to a substantial bloc of them. And with his name on the ballot in other states, he stands to gain some additional strength even without campaigning.

His strategy would seem to be to keep himself available to break a probable deadlock between the Humphrey and McGovern forces.

As for his activities until the convention, Sen. Muskie said that he would "continue to speak out on the issues around the country and from the Senate floor."

Commenting on the results of the primaries so far, the senator noted four main issues reflected in the voting:

- The war in Vietnam.
- Continually rising prices, despite a policy of controls.
- A redistribution of the "benefits and burdens" of society.
- "An open government which confides in the people, responds to their needs and opinions and which is free from the corrupting influence of special interests."

### Mistaken Strategy

The senator also conceded that his previous strategy, that of entering as many primaries as possible, had been a mistake.

"I required that I make a major effort and a major expenditure of resources in every primary, with a maximum impact in none," he explained.

"Nowhere were the consequences of such a strategy more clearly demonstrated than in Wisconsin, Massachusetts and Pennsylvania—diminishing results and diminishing resources."

During the press conference, Sen. Muskie restated a major theme of his campaign—that he was the only Democrat who could beat President Nixon. He also insisted that he would not accept the vice-presidential nomination.

Sen. Muskie's assessment of (Continued on Page 3, Col. 6)



Sen. Edmund S. Muskie

## 11-4 Vote on Nominee for Attorney General

## Senate Panel Again Approves Kleindienst

By Robert Siner

WASHINGTON, April 27 (NYT)—The Senate Judiciary Committee, after almost two months of hearings, sent the nomination of Richard G. Kleindienst as attorney general to the Senate floor today.

The committee originally approved him unanimously on Feb. 24. Three days later, however, Mr. Kleindienst and other high Republicans of being involved in a deal linking the settlement of a billion-dollar anti-trust suit against the International Telephone & Telegraph Corp. with a \$400,000 pledge by an ITT subsidiary to underwrite the 1972 Republican National Convention.

Mr. Kleindienst then asked the Judiciary Committee to reopen the hearings so he could refute the charges.

The hearings reconvened March 2 and resulted today in the panel's reaffirming its original decision. But the 11-to-4 vote by the generally conservative committee was much less impressive than the unanimous approval the first time around.

In addition, the nomination, which was originally expected to have little trouble in the Senate, now faces a tough fight.

The committee reaffirmed its earlier decision after rejecting two motions, one by Sen. Robert C. Byrd, D., W. Va., that the nomination be reported without recommendation and one by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D., Mass.,



Richard G. Kleindienst

that the hearings be continued. Voting against confirmation were Sen. Kennedy, Sen. John V. Tunney, D., Calif., Sen. Quentin N. Burdick, D., N. D., and Sen. Birch Bayh, D., Ind. Sen. John McClellan, D., Ark., did not vote.

Earlier in the day, Mr. Kleindienst acknowledged that he probably had spoken with White House aide Peter M. Flanigan about the settlement of the ITT anti-trust suit, but insisted that he could not remember the conversations.

Mr. Kleindienst told the committee, "I have no recollection of the phone call." But he said that it was "extremely probable" that it had taken place.

Mr. Kleindienst was recalled by the panel to explain an apparent conflict between his previous testimony and statements made by Mr. Flanigan in a letter to the committee.

In his previous testimony, the acting attorney general denied any contacts with the White House on the ITT case. But in his letter, Mr. Flanigan testified that he had not only talked with Mr. Kleindienst about the case but also had relayed complaints by an ITT official about the suit to him.

The White House aide wrote the committee that he had had three contacts with Mr. Kleindienst on the ITT case—a telephone conversation to tell him that an independent analysis of the case had been completed, a discussion in which he told the acting attorney general that ITT was displeased with the terms of a proposed settlement and a conversation when he delivered the analysis to Mr. Kleindienst.

Concerning the phone call, Mr. Kleindienst said: "It could have been one of 40 phone calls I get in a day. I don't remember that call, but I am not saying it did not occur. I guess it did occur, because Flanigan remembers it."

About the meeting at which the White House aide delivered the report, Mr. Kleindienst commented: "That meeting was so insignificant, so immaterial and inconsistent with respect to my posture in the case, it just doesn't stick in my mind."

## Foresees Gains at Peace Talks

## Nixon to Continue Bombings While Withdrawing More GIs

By Robert B. Sample Jr.

WASHINGTON, April 27 (NYT)—President Nixon said last night that he was continuing his troop withdrawal program despite the heavy enemy offensive in South Vietnam.

In a nationwide television address, Mr. Nixon announced that 20,000 more troops would be withdrawn from South Vietnam, a move that would reduce authorized American troop strength to 49,000 by July 1.

While sober and earnest in his presentation before the cameras, the President sounded a generally optimistic note about the military situation in Vietnam, and, without going into detail, he also said that he was approaching today's resumption of the Paris peace talks with considerable hope.

Mr. Nixon said that he had received yesterday morning an evaluation of the fighting from his commander in Vietnam—Gen. Creighton W. Abrams—and that Gen. Abrams was convinced that, despite four weeks of bitter fighting, the South Vietnamese could contain the invasion "if we continue to provide air and sea support."

The President pledged to continue such support and to persist with air and naval attacks on enemy installations in North Vietnam "until the North Vietnamese stop their offensive in South Vietnam."

On the diplomatic front, Mr. Nixon offered no new negotiating proposals, asserting that the United States had already offered generous terms for peace. But he said that, despite the enemy's refusal to accept these terms, or even talk seriously about them, he was approaching today's bargaining session "with the firm expectation that productive talks leading to rapid progress will follow through all available channels."

Although the address was advertised in advance as a speech on troop levels and an evaluation of the military conditions in the field, Mr. Nixon clearly hoped to use the occasion not only to

emphasize the distance he had come in winding down an inherited war but to explain the basis for his policies and appeal for public support for them.

He mentioned none of his political opponents or other critics by name, but he said the enemy's "one remaining hope" was to weaken the fiber of the American spirit and "win in the Congress of the United States" the victory

"they cannot win among the people of South Vietnam."

For his part, he said, he intended to stand firm. And he pledged to his audience to stand with him.

"The great question," he said, "is how we, the American people, will respond to this final challenge."

The President gave no reasons for his optimism about the peace

talks. But his national security adviser, Henry A. Kissinger, who returned Monday from a secret mission to Moscow, said that "we have evidence" suggesting that the appropriate moment had come to test Communist intentions at the negotiating table.

Specifically, Mr. Kissinger drew newsmen's attention to reports that Le Duc Tho, a member of (Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)

## Secret Sessions Seen Likely Soon

## Bickering Resumes at Paris Talks

By Jonathan C. Randal

PARIS, April 27 (WPI)—The formal Vietnam peace conference resumed its meetings today—and all too familiar bickering—amid the strongest signs to date that a new round of secret negotiations will begin soon.

Nguyen Vy Minh, the deputy North Vietnamese delegate to the stalled conference, told newsmen, "It is probable there will be private meetings" presumably involving Le Duc Tho, who would return to Paris in "less than a week."

A ranking Hanoi Politburo member, Mr. Tho has represented North Vietnam at a series of secret negotiations with American officials from 1968 to last fall when discussions with Henry A. Kissinger, the White House national security affairs adviser, collapsed amid mutual recriminations.

First Meeting

At the 14th formal semi-public negotiating session today, delegates made no mention of secret talks. It was their first meeting since President Nixon ended his unilateral suspension of the talks announced March 23.

The tenor of the talks was all but indistinguishable from that prevailing before the suspension except for accusations and counter-accusations involving the Communist offensive in South Vietnam, which occurred during the interruption.

American Ambassador William J. Porter set the mood by complaining to newsmen after the session that the Communists had produced "absolute boilerplate," that is, statements irrelevant to time.

The Viet Cong and North Vietnamese delegates and press spokesmen were equally unimpressed by his presentation.

Nonetheless, Mr. Porter proposed meeting again next week in the optimistic expectation that, somehow, the Communists would suddenly accept the "serious" negotiations Washington and Saigon have been unavailingly seeking since the talks began in January, 1969.

In a more realistic mood, Mr. Porter told newsmen, "I sure



William J. Porter, chief American delegate to Paris peace talks, at the negotiations yesterday.

gon have been unavailingly seeking since the talks began in January, 1969.

In a more realistic mood, Mr. Porter told newsmen, "I sure

hope that when Le Duc Tho arrives here, he's got better than what they produced today."

Mr. Porter's offhand remark was confirmation of American belief that secret talks, which in the past have produced whatever slight progress has been made towards narrowing still gaping differences, continue to hold the key to any negotiated peace settlement.

Corresponding Cuts

For the record, Mr. Porter asked the Communists "to end your invasion and commence the withdrawal of North Vietnamese troops from South Vietnam," promising a corresponding reduction in the level and intensity of our retaliatory response "were concrete progress" achieved.

Mr. Porter also raised the threat of a renewed suspension of the semi-public sessions if presumably at next week's meeting the Communists "continue to refuse to deal with the substance of both the present invasion and general problems of peace, including prisoners of war and those missing in action."

Although he added, "only substantial progress" would lead to a renewed suspension of the talks, Mr. Porter said, "I sure

## Foe Attacks City Near DMZ, Closes on One in Highlands

By Joseph B. Treaster

SAIGON, April 27 (NYT)—North Vietnamese troops bombarded the defenders of Quang Tri city, in the northern half of South Vietnam, with heavy artillery and tank fire today as enemy forces in the Central Highlands improved their position for a strike against Kontum.

Senior U.S. officials said that the North Vietnamese appeared to be intent on capturing both provincial capitals.

In sketchy reports from the field, the North Vietnamese were said to have attacked Quang Tri all day, at one point getting to within two and a half miles of the city.

It was not immediately clear how many North Vietnamese were participating in the attack. Three divisions of about 10,000 men each are now to be in the vicinity.

The South Vietnamese said that the enemy was advancing under cover of 130-mm. artillery and 122-mm. rocket fire.

Attack From DMZ

At least 100 of the shells were reported to have landed in Quang Tri, which civilians fled after the North Vietnamese began pouring across the Demilitarized Zone—19 miles north—four weeks ago.

The number of North Vietnamese tanks in the attack was not known, but South Vietnamese commanders said their troops had destroyed eight. Early estimates on enemy casualties ranged up to 300 dead; there were only fragmentary reports on Saigon government losses.

At 8:30 a.m.—two and a half hours after the attack had begun—the Third South Vietnamese

Division, which has primary responsibility for the defense of the northernmost area of the city, declared a tactical emergency.

Such a declaration, in the words of a senior U.S. official, is a signal that a unit "thinks it's about to be overrun," and gives it the highest priority for air strikes and artillery fire.

However, Americans in the field said the weather was "very, very bad" for flying and added that virtually no bombing in close support of the government troops was possible.

Bombing by Radar

There were seven B-52 raids with an average of three planes each in the area, but the closest bombers came to Quang Tri city was 10 miles. There were also a number of attacks by

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

## Trade Deficit In U.S. Rises To a Record

WASHINGTON, April 27 (NYT)—The U.S. trade deficit narrowed slightly in March but rose in the first three months to a record quarterly high, the Commerce Department said today.

The shortfall for the quarter was \$1.5 billion, compared with a \$1.3-billion deficit in the final quarter of 1971, the department said.

Details on Page 7.

## Amnesty for Ulster Paraders As Whitelaw Also Lifts Ban

By Bernard D. Nossiter

LONDON, April 27 (WPI)—The British government declared an amnesty tonight for Bernadette Devlin and 283 others convicted of taking part in illegal parades in Ulster.

At the same time, the ban on marches in the troubled province was lifted.

Miss Devlin, a Roman Catholic militant and member of the House of Commons here, has been sentenced twice to six months in prison and received a suspended six-month sentence for organizing civil rights demonstrations. Another militant Catholic member of Parliament, Frank McNamara, faced the same penalties.

By no coincidence, the amnesty covers all penalties imposed since last Christmas. That was when Miss Devlin and Mr. McNamara

received the first of their three sentences.

Still a third MP, Gerry Fitt, leader of the Social and Democratic Labor party in the defunct provincial government, also benefited from the amnesty. He was given a suspended six-month sentence earlier this week.

Whitelaw's Policy

The decision on amnesty and the new license for parades reflects the policy of William Whitelaw, the new secretary of state for Northern Ireland. Since taking command of the province a month ago, he has been attempting to conciliate both Catholic and Protestant opinion and remove the grievances that have spilled so much blood.

Despite a lot of bluster, Prot-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 2)



### Long-Distance Call to Moon Is Too Long

PETERBORO, N.H., April 22 (AP)—Stephen Stone and Michael Narbis tried to place a telephone call through Houston to Comdr. Thomas K. Mattingly while he was piloting the Apollo-16 command module around the moon.

The two employees of Radio Station WECV said the operator in Houston told them that the call could not be placed because "there are no lines and area codes out where he is."

### Apollo Trio Lands Safely

(Continued from Page 1)

thanked the recovery forces, the mission control team and the American taxpayers, whom he said "really got their money's worth on this one."

Capt. Young said Apollo-16 was "a mission of discovery. There are secrets in that vehicle (the spacecraft) that nobody knows," he said.

"We're going to find those things and out of these days it's going to benefit us all. I can guarantee you, I feel that if we had not done our mission we'd have been remiss in not uncovering this basic knowledge," the mission commander said.

Comdr. Mattingly told the recovery force, "You did a bang-up job," and Col. Duke did likewise, adding, "It's good to be back."

The astronauts were taken below decks for medical examinations and a doctor reported a few minutes later, "They look to be in good physical condition."

"They are all happy about being back and are anxious to have some food and something to drink," said Dr. Charles Lapina, "And they would all like to take showers."

The first thing that Comdr. Mattingly asked for was a cup of coffee.

For the first meal back on earth, the astronauts were given filet mignon, spinach and stuffed potatoes.

The astronauts will remain aboard the carrier for two nights while it steams toward Hawaii, 1,519 miles to the north.

### Madrid Police Halt Protest for Arrested Actress

MADRID, April 27 (UPI)—Police today evicted more than 100 Spanish stage and movie personalities from a trade union building which they had occupied to demand the freeing of an anti-government activist.

Eyewitnesses said the protesters left peacefully, and there were no incidents. But some of the actors suffered cuts when they forced the door of the headquarters of the Sindicato de Espectaculos, the union of show business employees.

Actors, playwrights and directors forming the group demanded that the state-controlled union use its influence to gain provisional liberty for actress Julia Pena. She was arrested Monday between performances of Aristophanes' "Lysistrata" at a Madrid theater and subsequently charged with sedition—a court-martial offense.

Miss Pena has been accused by police of having put her apartment at the disposal of a clandestine construction workers' strike committee last Saturday.

### WEATHER

	C	F	
ALBUQUERQUE	16	61	Cloudy
ANCHORAGE	17	63	Cloudy
ANERKA	17	63	Stormy
ATLANTA	20	68	Very cloudy
BALTIMORE	21	69	Very cloudy
BELGRADE	11	52	Very cloudy
BERLIN	8	46	Showers
BIRMINGHAM	15	59	Very cloudy
BUDAPEST	8	46	Overcast
CAIRO	29	84	Sunny
CANBERRA	11	52	Sunny
COPENHAGEN	14	57	Sunny
COSTA DEL SOL	16	61	Partly cloudy
DUBLIN	11	52	Stormy
EDINBURGH	10	50	Very cloudy
FLORENCE	18	64	Cloudy
GENOVA	18	64	Very cloudy
GENVA	11	52	Very cloudy
HELSINKI	2	36	Rain
HOUSTON	11	52	Very cloudy
ISLAS PALMAS	18	64	Cloudy
LISBON	18	64	Sunny
LONDON	12	54	Sunny
MOSCOW	12	54	Sunny
MUNICH	15	59	Cloudy
MONTREAL	5	41	Cloudy
NEW YORK	11	52	Sunny
NICE	15	59	Sunny
OSLO	8	46	Rain
PARIS	8	46	Rain
PRAGUE	8	46	Very cloudy
RIO DE JANEIRO	18	64	Very cloudy
ROME	18	64	Very cloudy
STOCKHOLM	2	36	Showers
TOKYO	22	72	Very cloudy
TULSA	11	52	Sunny
VENICE	14	57	Cloudy
VIENNA	10	50	Showers
WASHINGTON	7	45	Showers
WASHINGTON	15	59	Sunny
ZURICH	8	46	Very cloudy

(U.S. Coast Guard temperatures taken at 1700 GMT other at 1200 GMT)

## Nixon Speech Text

WASHINGTON—The text of President Nixon's televised address to the nation:

During the past three weeks you have been reading and hearing about the massive invasion of South Vietnam by the Communist armies of North Vietnam.

Tonight, I want to give you a first-hand report on the military situation in Vietnam, the decisions I have made with regard to the role of the United States forces in the conflict, and the efforts we are making to bring peace to the negotiating table.

Let me begin by briefly reviewing what the situation was when I took office, and what we have done since then to end American involvement in the war and to bring peace to the long-suffering people of Southeast Asia.

On Jan. 20, 1969, the American troop ceiling in Vietnam was 549,000. Our casualties were running as high as 300 a week. Thirty thousand young Americans were being drafted every month.

Today, 39 months later, through our program of Vietnamization—helping the South Vietnamese develop the capability of defending themselves—the number of Americans in Vietnam by May 1st will have been reduced to 69,000. Our casualties—even during the present, all-out enemy offensive—have been reduced by 95 percent. Draft calls now average fewer than 5,000 a month, and we expect to bring them to zero next year.

Generous Terms  
As I reported in my television address to the nation on Jan. 27, we have offered the most generous terms in both public and private negotiating sessions. Our most recent proposal provided for an immediate cease-fire; the exchange of all prisoners of war; the withdrawal of all of our forces within six months; and new elections in Vietnam, which would be internationally supervised, with all political elements including the Communists participating in and helping to run the elections. One month before such elections, President Thieu and Vice-President Huong would resign.

Now Hanoi's answer to this offer was a refusal even to discuss our proposals and, at the same time, a massive escalation of their military activities on the battlefield. Last October, our intelligence reports began to indicate that the enemy was building up for a major attack.

Yet we deliberately refrained from responding militarily. Instead we patiently continued with the Paris talks, because we wanted to give the enemy every chance to reach a negotiated settlement at the bargaining table rather than to seek a military victory on the battlefield—a victory they cannot be allowed to win.

Their Invasion  
Finally, three weeks ago, on Easter weekend, they mounted their invasion of South Vietnam. Three North Vietnamese divisions swept across the Demilitarized Zone into South Vietnam—in violation of the treaties they had signed in 1954 and in violation of the understanding they had reached with President Johnson in 1968, when he stopped the bombing in North Vietnam in return for arrangements which included their pledge not to violate the DMZ.

Shortly after the invasion across the DMZ, another three North Vietnamese divisions invaded South Vietnam farther south. As the offensive progressed, the enemy indiscriminately shelled

civilian population centers in a clear violation of the 1958 bombing halt understanding.

The facts are clear. More than 120,000 North Vietnamese are now fighting in the South. There are no South Vietnamese troops anywhere in North Vietnam. Twelve of North Vietnam's 13 regular combat divisions have now left their own soil in order to carry aggressive war onto the territory of their neighbors. Whatever pretext there was of a civil war in South Vietnam has now been stripped away.

What we are witnessing here—what is being brutally inflicted upon the people of South Vietnam—is a clear case of naked and unprovoked aggression across an international border. There is only one word for it: Invasion.

This massive attack has been resisted on the ground entirely by South Vietnamese forces, and in one area by South Korean forces. There are no United States ground troops involved. None will be involved. To support this defensive effort by the South Vietnamese I have ordered attacks on enemy military targets in both North and South Vietnam by the air and naval forces of the United States.

Abrams' Report  
I have before me a report which I received this morning from General Abrams. He gives the following evaluation of the situation:

1. The South Vietnamese are fighting courageously and well in their self-defense, and inflicting very heavy casualties on the invading force, which has not gained the easy victory some predicted for it three weeks ago.

2. Our air strikes have been essential in protecting our own remaining forces and in assisting the South Vietnamese in their efforts to protect their homes and their country from a Communist takeover.

3. Gen. Abrams predicts that there will be several more weeks of very hard fighting in which some battles will be lost and others will be won by the South Vietnamese. But he is convinced that, if we continue to provide air and sea support, the enemy will fail in its desperate gamble to impose a Communist regime on South Vietnam, and that the South Vietnamese will then have demonstrated their ability to defend themselves on the ground against future enemy attacks.

Three Decisions  
Based on this realistic assessment from Gen. Abrams, and after consultation with President Thieu, Ambassador Barker, Ambassador Porter, and my senior advisers in Washington, I have three decisions to announce tonight.

First, I have decided that Vietnamization has proved itself sufficiently that we can continue our program of withdrawing American forces without detriment to our overall goal of ensuring South Vietnam's survival as an independent country. Consequently, I am announcing tonight that over the next two months 20,000 more Americans will be brought home from Vietnam. This decision has the full approval of President Thieu and of Gen. Abrams. It will bring our troop ceiling down to 49,000 by July 1—a reduction of half a million men since this administration came into office.

Second, I have directed Ambassador Porter to return to the negotiating table in Paris tomorrow, but with one very special purpose in mind. We are not resuming the Paris talks simply in order to hear more empty propaganda and bombast from the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong delegates, but to get on with the constructive business of making



PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—President Richard Nixon in his White House office Wednesday night after delivering nationwide television speech on Vietnam situation.

peace. We are resuming the Paris talks with the firm expectation that productive talks leading to rapid progress will follow through all available channels. As far as we are concerned, the first order of business will be to get the enemy to halt his invasion of South Vietnam, and to return the American prisoners of war.

Finally, I have ordered that our air and naval attacks on military installations in North Vietnam be continued until the North Vietnamese stop their offensive in South Vietnam.

I have flatly rejected the proposal that we stop the bombing of North Vietnam as a condition for returning to the negotiating table. They said that package to the United States once before, in 1968, and we are not going to buy it again in 1972.

The Record  
Look at the record. By July 1 we will have withdrawn over 90 percent of our forces that were in Vietnam in 1969. Before the enemy's invasion began, we had cut our air sorties in half. We have offered exceedingly generous terms for peace. The only thing that we have refused to do is to accede to the enemy's demand to overthrow the lawfully constituted government of South Vietnam and to impose a Communist dictatorship in its place.

As you will recall, I have warned on a number of occasions over the past three years that if the enemy responded to our efforts to bring peace by stepping up the war I would act to meet that attack, for three reasons: to protect our remaining American forces; to permit continuation of our withdrawal program; and to prevent the imposition of a Communist regime on the people of South Vietnam against their will, with the inevitable bloodbath that would follow for hundreds of thousands who have dared to oppose Communist aggression. But if on the other hand, Communist aggression fails in Vietnam it will be discouraged elsewhere, and the chance for peace will be increased.

The air and naval strikes of recent weeks have been carried out to achieve these objectives. They have been directed only against military targets supporting the invasion of the South. They will not stop until that invasion stops.

The Communists have failed in their efforts to win over the people of South Vietnam politically. General Abrams believes that they will fail in their efforts to conquer South Vietnam militarily. Their one remaining hope is to win in the Congress of the United States, and among the people of the United States, the victory they cannot win among the people of South Vietnam or on the battlefield in South Vietnam.

The Stakes  
The great question then is how we, the American people, will respond to this challenge.

Let us look at what the stakes are—not just for South Vietnam but for the United States and for the cause of peace in the world. If one country, armed with the most modern weapons by major powers, can invade another nation and succeed in conquering it, that will fail in their efforts to do exactly the same thing in the Middle East, in Europe, and in other international danger spots. If the Communists win militarily in Vietnam, the risk of war in other parts of the world would be enormously increased.

We aren't trying to conquer North Vietnam or any other country. We want no territory. We seek no bases. We have offered the most generous peace terms—peace with honor for both sides—with South Vietnam and North Vietnam each respecting the other's independence.

But, we will not be defeated; and we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression.

We have come a long way in this conflict. The South Vietnamese have made great progress and are now bearing the brunt of the battle. We can now see the day when no more Americans will be involved there at all.

But as we come to the end of this long and difficult struggle, we must be steadfast. We must not falter. For all that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance during the coming weeks and months. If we now let down our friends, we shall surely be letting down ourselves and our future as well. If we now persist, history will thank America for her courage and her vision at this testing time.

This is why I say let us bring our men home from Vietnam. Let us end the war in Vietnam. But let us end it in such a way that the younger brothers and sons of the brave men who have fought in Vietnam will not have

## Bickering Resumes at Paris Talks

Secret Negotiations Seen Likely Soon

(Continued from Page 1)

stance will keep us at this table," it was taken for granted that the United States would put up with disappointing results at the formal sessions if secret negotiations began and showed some promise of progress.

Lip Service  
Much of Mr. Porter's remarks was taken as formal lip service to President Nixon, who last night said, "We are not resuming the Paris talks simply in order to hear more empty propaganda and bombast from the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong delegates."

Xuan Thuy, the North Vietnamese delegate, said American claims about a Northern invasion of South Vietnam were "utterly absurd" and he accused the United States of being the invading power.

President Nixon's decision to withdraw another 20,000 troops by July 1 provoked Mrs. Nguyen Tri Binh, the Viet Cong delegate, to criticize him for not withdrawing all American forces from South Vietnam and for not setting a deadline for their final departure.

Mr. Thuy rejected American accusations of North Vietnamese military presence in the South by arguing that all those fighting the American and Saigon troops were "liberators of the South Vietnamese people" and not "mercenaries" as the U.S. press called them.

The traditional dialogue of the deaf at the formal conference sessions was typified by charges by both sides that the adversary refused to answer fundamental questions.

U.S. Sees Bad Faith  
WASHINGTON, April 27 (UPI)—The State Department today accused North Vietnam of acting in bad faith by launching heavier military attacks in South Vietnam as peace talks resumed in Paris.

Spokesman Robert J. McCloskey said that in view of the increased military attacks, "one can say this is no less than a sign of bad faith and in our view it is outrageous, particularly in light of the public pressure they were engaged in for a return to the conference."

The State Department spokesman added, "How can North Vietnam expect discussions to get anywhere under these circumstances, virtually at the point of the gun?"

His remarks were understood to have White House approval.

Nixon to Continue Bombing, Will Withdraw 20,000 GIs

(Continued from Page 1)

The Hanoi Politburo will return to Paris, Mr. Kissinger said that Mr. Thieu does not journey to Paris for "trivial" reasons.

The national security adviser did not specifically say so, but he left the impression with newsmen that, during his visit to Moscow, he had received hints that the talks might be productive.

He also recalled that the White House has consistently believed that the war would end by negotiation and that the current major offensive might well be a prelude to negotiations.

Mr. Kissinger also shed a bit of light on what the United States would ask of the North Vietnamese at the negotiations today.

In his address, Mr. Nixon repeated the essence of Tuesday's announcement that the United States would insist that today's first order of business "will be to get the enemy to halt his invasion of South Vietnam." He also added one additional condition, that the enemy "return the American prisoners of war."

In a briefing with newsmen before the address, Mr. Kissinger was asked to expand on the President's remarks. He said that he did not want to "negotiate at a press conference" but added that the administration would ask Hanoi to withdraw those troops that had crossed the Demilitarized Zone separating the two Vietnams in apparent violation of a 1953 understanding.

When asked about the other North Vietnamese troops that entered South Vietnam by way of Cambodia and Laos, Mr. Kissinger said the administration's position would be spelled out in detail at the negotiating table.

Asked to explain the purpose of the U.S. heavy bombing, he said that it had two essential purposes: the first was to "demonstrate the enemy's offensive in South Vietnam by preventing enemy troops from either seeking control of 'many' provincial capitals or gaining control of the country-side."

The second was to reduce Hanoi's capacity to mount a major offensive later in the year. This was the reason, he said, for the bombing of the Hanoi-Binhphong area.

As expected, Mr. Nixon devoted some of his speech to an explanation of his determination not to call a unilateral halt to American involvement in Indochina.

"We will not be defeated," he said, "and we will never surrender our friends to Communist aggression."

He insisted that to do so now would undermine America's diplomatic credibility throughout the world and encourage other wars of aggression elsewhere.

"As we come to the end of this long and difficult struggle," he said, "we must be steadfast. We must not falter. For all that we have risked and all that we have gained over the years now hangs in the balance during the coming weeks and months. If we now let down our friends, we shall surely be letting down ourselves and our future as well."

Salon in Accord  
SAIGON, April 27 (AP)—The South Vietnamese government affirmed today that it had agreed to the new U.S. troop withdrawal and reassured its "determination to meet the Communist challenge on every front."

The Foreign Ministry said: "After a full review of the latest military developments which follow the massive North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam, the government of the Republic of Vietnam agreed to a further withdrawal of 20,000 American troops from Vietnam during the next May-June period."

The Republic of Vietnam reaffirms on this opportunity its determination to meet the Communist challenge on every front, to break off their military adventures and to successfully defend the right of the South Vietnamese people to live in peace and freedom."

Mihajlov Says Jail Awaits Him  
BELGRADE, April 27 (UPI)—Writer-philosopher Mihajlo Mihajlov, whose opposition to single-party Communist rule in Yugoslavia has already cost him nearly four years behind bars, said today he has been ordered back to prison for publishing a literary essay.

"My lawyer received a written indictment from the Vojvodina Province magistrate court saying I have to go to prison for 30 days," Mr. Mihajlov said.

The latest charges against Mr. Mihajlov, who is forbidden to publish in Yugoslavia, stem from an article entitled "Art as Enemy" which he wrote for The New York Times in October, 1970. In the article he wrote favorably of dissident Soviet author Alexander Solzhenitsyn.

## Saigon Army's Dead, Wounded In Week a Record for the War

SAIGON, April 27 (AP)—The South Vietnamese command reported today its heaviest casualties of the war—killed and wounded last week the third week of the enemy offensive.

The command said 1,149 government soldiers were killed in action and 3,376 wounded in the week that ended last Saturday.

The U.S. command reported the heaviest battle casualties in six months—ten Americans killed in action and 75 wounded.

The South Vietnamese reported 4,390 enemy soldiers killed last week, compared with 7,117 the week before.

In all, 17,820 North Vietnamese, South Vietnamese and U.S. soldiers—plus uncounted hundreds of civilians—have been reported killed in the first three weeks of April.

South Vietnamese losses during the three weeks are put at 2,792 killed and 8,188 wounded. The last comparable period was during the enemy's Tet offensive in 1968.

The allied commands have reported these total casualties for the war: South Vietnamese—140,805 killed in action, 355,905 wounded. North Vietnamese and Viet Cong—820,670. Americans—47,713 killed in action, 302,982 wounded, 10,136 dead from "nonhostile" causes.

Quang Tri, Kontum Menaced  
Foe Attacks City Near DMZ, Closes on One in Highlands

(Continued from Page 1)

smaller planes that dropped their bombs by radar—among the least effective methods of bombing in close combat because the pilots can see neither their targets nor the troops they are supporting.

In their initial attacks in late March and early April, the North Vietnamese stopped short of an assault on the city of Quang Tri, and several senior U.S. officials said tonight that they thought the fighting signaled the start of the expected push on the provincial capital.

In the Central Highlands, meanwhile, U.S. intelligence officers said there were clear indications that the North Vietnamese were moving artillery pieces and rockets closer to Kontum.

City Is Surrounded  
In the last few days, the North Vietnamese have surrounded Kontum. They have cut Route 14 on both the north and south sides of the town and they control the hills ringing the city.

Senior U.S. and South Vietnamese officials said they felt it was only a "matter of hours or days at the most" before the North Vietnamese struck.

In Kontum, the South Vietnamese and their U.S. advisers were working to improve their defense system.

On other fronts:  
● At An Loc, the besieged provincial capital 60 miles north of Saigon, 2,280 shells were fired by the enemy in a 24-hour period ending early today, the Saigon command said. It was termed the heaviest bombardment in any 24-hour period at An Loc since the North Vietnamese struck along the corridor leading toward Saigon.

● The An Khe Pass on Highway 19, a vital link between supply bases on the coast and imperiled Kontum, was officially declared open. South Korean troops fought a 16-day battle to dislodge North Vietnamese from the pass.

● In coastal Binh Dinh Province, east of the Central Highlands, Ban Son, a district town, came under mortar and rocket attack.

● The U.S. command said that three North Vietnamese patrol boats were sunk and a fourth heavily damaged yesterday after they attacked the guided missile cruiser Oklahoma City and the destroyers Richard B. Anderson and Gurte. There was no damage to the U.S. ships, the command said.

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## Amnesty for Ulster Paraders As Whitelaw Also Lifts Ban

(Continued from Page 1)

estants have generally accepted London's direct rule without any violent reaction.

In the Catholic community, Mr. Whitelaw can claim some success in separating citizens from the Irish Republican Army, but the gunmen continue to kill British soldiers and, less frequently, innocent bystanders.

By saving Miss Devlin and Mr. McManus from jail, Mr. Whitelaw avoids making new martyrs. Just as importantly he needs on his side moderates like Mr. Pitt, a respected Catholic politician who has consistently spoken against violence.

The lifting of the ban on parades demonstrates Mr. Whitelaw's confidence that marches can take place without touching off new religious strife in Ulster. The ban was imposed by the suspended Ulster provincial government last Aug. 9. That day, the government also began internment Catholics without charge or trial. Mr. Whitelaw has released 143 of those men, while more than 600 are reportedly still held.

Protestants Demonstrate  
BELFAST, April 27 (UPI)—About 100 Protestant youths stoned policemen and soldiers and set two vehicles afire today after a meeting of a militant group in Belfast, a police spokesman said. Two persons were arrested.

The youths later dispersed. The army stood by but took no action, a military spokesman said.

In Londonderry, 22 women who said they live in a Catholic housing development overlooking a British Army post asked the IRA to stop using their homes as cover for firing.

A few hours after the women made their request, a gunman fired on the army post from the area. The army said fire was returned and the sniper seen to fall.

"Our nerves are shattered and so are our children's," one of the women said. "We told the IRA we wanted to live in a peaceful area."

Six gunmen, meanwhile, ambushed an army patrol in Belfast's Catholic area of Andersonstown, slightly wounding one soldier in the wrist, an army spokesman said. Fire was returned.

In Armagh, five or six shots were fired at the home of a member of the Ulster Defense Regiment, the army said. There were no injuries and fire was returned. Small explosions damaged a wine shop in Belfast and a bridge in County Armagh, the spokesman said. There were no injuries.

Hillery in London  
DUBLIN, April 27 (UPI)—Foreign Affairs Minister Patrick Hillery visited London today for talks on Northern Ireland with British officials; the government here said.

A statement said that Mr. Hillery met with the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and Mr. Whitelaw. The meeting was the first personal contact between ministers of the British and Irish governments since direct British rule



## News Analysis

## Nixon Changes War Strategy But Retains Old Objectives

By Max Frankel

NEW YORK, April 27 (NYT).—President Nixon wrote the concluding passages last night of his evolving plan to bring "peace with honor" to Vietnam. The document of American ground forces means no reduction in the American objective in the war, a combined force of South Vietnamese ground troops, the American supplies and American air and naval power can hold out indefinitely against all conceivable enemy challenge; from here on it is therefore, the United States and the President's policy can be "tested" only by a failure of all in the Congress or among the American people.

These concepts have always been implicit in Mr. Nixon's gradual, four-year program of withdrawal from ground combat in his negotiating offers to and from the North Vietnamese. But until the North Vietnamese began their offensive four weeks ago, the President had hoped to avoid a bloody testing of his strategy on the battlefield and an American election campaign. By last night, there was no voice except to let the commanding armies delineate the existing balance of power in Indochina.

## People Exhorted

The President exhorted the American people to support his vision of the nature of the conflict in Vietnam and his global vision of the stakes. He promised more troop withdrawals, low casualties and diminishing draft and a return to the conference table to see whether peace would call off its offensive. But he knows, as advisers put it, that the chances of a bargain now ride on a course of the battle.

Like President Lyndon B. Johnson at a similar time of testing his testimony of his field commander to justify his faith in the fighting armies, Mr. Nixon, he cast yet another longing look at the Soviet leaders in the hope that they might persuade Hanoi that further bloodletting was useless.

Like President Johnson, Mr. Nixon defined his goal as not

only victory but merely the defense of South Vietnam against conquest. Like Mr. Johnson, he defined the conflict between North and South Vietnam as one between two sovereign nations, committing and suffering "naked aggression" in a war that threatens the fabric of peace everywhere.

## Means Failed

It was not his predecessor's objectives, but only his means, that Mr. Nixon found faulty last night. And it is not Mr. Nixon's means but his objectives that the North Vietnamese seek to alter and cite to justify their resort to frontal warfare.

In stating his definition of the conflict and renewing his commitment to deny Hanoi a "military victory," Mr. Nixon spoke more forcefully than in most of his war announcements. His apparent purpose was to avert further disaffection among the American people and to dare his Democratic challengers to dispute his call to "honor."

Confident, after Henry A. Kissinger's four-day sojourn in Moscow, that the Russians wish to proceed with agreements on arms control, trade and European security, Mr. Nixon also argued that firmness in Vietnam was actually enhancing respect for the United States.

## Only Firm Hope

He did not disclose whether the Russians had demanded his return to the Paris talks or turned him into returning with some hint of progress. But Mr. Kissinger left reports with the clear impression that the President's "firm expectation" of "productive talks" and "rapid progress" was for the moment only a firm hope.

It remains Mr. Kissinger's thesis that the current enemy offensive is only the prelude to real bargaining, that Hanoi is staking out on one final military onslaught whose purpose is not total victory but political pressure on the President to return to the conference table.

But as Mr. Nixon virtually acknowledged, he cannot expect to bear remotely acceptable terms until Saigon's soldiers and American forces can demonstrate that his big plan has merit after all.



GERMAN JOY—West German Chancellor Willy Brandt (center) being congratulated in Bundestag yesterday after the opposition failed to oust him in crucial vote. Glum and disappointed Christian Democrats in rear are Ludwig Erhard and Rainer Barzel.

## Aide Optimistic on Summit

## Brezhnev Sought Kissinger Visit

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, April 27 (NYT).—Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist party leader, personally initiated Henry A. Kissinger's secret weekend trip to Moscow to have an airing of views about the Vietnam situation and other issues, a well-placed Nixon administration source said yesterday.

The official said that Mr. Brezhnev's suggestion that a trusted aide of President Nixon's come to Moscow was made recently in a letter to the President, Mr. Nixon, after consulting with Mr. Kissinger, his national security adviser, and Secretary of State William P. Rogers, decided to send Mr. Kissinger to have his views made known as clearly as possible to Mr. Brezhnev before his trip to Moscow next month.

At a briefing for newsmen last night, prior to Mr. Nixon's Vietnam speech, Mr. Kissinger appeared extremely optimistic about the prospects for the Moscow summit as the result of his mission there from last Thursday to Monday.

He said that all negotiations with the Soviet Union were "on course" and that "it is safe to say that they may have received an additional impetus" by his meetings with Mr. Brezhnev.

Although virtually every international and bilateral matter facing the two nations was discussed, the administration source said that Vietnam was clearly the major subject of interest.

It was understood that Mr. Brezhnev and Foreign Minister Andrei A. Gromyko affirmed the Soviet view that the Paris negotiations should be resumed and Mr. Kissinger repeated Mr. Nixon's belief that major powers have a responsibility for urging restraint on those nations they supply with arms.

The administration source said that one factor which led Mr. Nixon to agree to resume the Paris peace talks—despite an earlier decision to boycott the negotiations until the North Vietnamese ceased their offensive in South Vietnam—was the stress put by Mr. Brezhnev on their possible value.

By resuming the talks, the administration source said, not only intentions of the administration source said, but also Moscow's leverage on the North Vietnamese. The general view here is that although Moscow has limited influence over Hanoi's actions, it serves as a conduit for North Vietnamese views.

Mr. Kissinger, in his briefing at the White House last night, was asked if the Russians had specifically given assurances about Hanoi's willingness to negotiate.

He avoided a direct answer, but left the impression among newsmen that the Russians had been talking along this line. He said, "We have some evidence" to expect productive talks.

Mr. Brezhnev's correspondence with Mr. Nixon began early last year and has been regular since then. Its contents have been carefully guarded, but have been alluded to by Mr. Kissinger several

times—including his remarks Tuesday about his secret trip to Moscow.

He said that the two leaders had been in contact, and "in the course of these exchanges, it was felt in the last few weeks that a more direct exchange might be desirable."

"Therefore, by mutual agreement," Mr. Kissinger said, he was sent to Moscow.

Mr. Brezhnev's decision to spend four days with Mr. Kissinger was viewed by Soviet specialists here as unprecedented in recent Soviet history. Mr. Brezhnev, like Mr. Nixon, is an extremely busy man, the specialists said. Moreover, he has only in the last two years been seeing any Western officials. He has never spent this much time with an aide to a top official.

Marked Importance

By his actions, Mr. Brezhnev was underscoring the importance he attached to Soviet-American relations and to Mr. Nixon's visit to Moscow, Leningrad and Kiev, which begins on May 21, one specialist said.

Mr. Kissinger, in his briefing last night, seemed impressed as well by the length of time he spent with Mr. Brezhnev. After indirectly confirming that Mr. Brezhnev had initiated his visit to Moscow, Mr. Kissinger said the fact that they had a "mutual interest and serious desire to deal with outstanding issues in a serious way" was more significant than how the trip came about.

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## Ouster Bid by Ostpolitik Foes

## Brandt Survives on 2-Vote Margin

(Continued from Page 1)

the first ballot of its kind in the 23-year history of West Germany—was a kind of mystery play.

After listening to speeches by all the leading politicians except Mr. Barzel—some of them eloquent and others weak—the deputies were called out by name to pick up their ballots and vote. Then they were to drop their ballots in a plexiglass box in full view of the parliament and television watchers.

The 233 Social Democrats, following a suggestion by their floor leader, Herbert Wehner, remained seated with the exception of a right-wing deputy from Munich named Glimmer Müller. He presumably supported Mr. Brandt.

Some of the 26 Free Democrats also remained seated, while some of them did cast ballots. The tactic of the Free Democrats succeeded in averting up for one more Christian Union party deputies who obviously voted against Mr. Brandt.

## Some Defection

The arithmetic of the vote—241 votes for Mr. Brandt, 10 against and three abstentions—makes this plan. Two Free Democrats said they had voted for him. This meant that not all of the conservative opposition's 246 members did support Mr. Brandt.

The question in many minds here tonight was whether Mr. Brandt could count on the future support of the conservatives who abandoned him today.

Franz Josef Strauss, no friend of Mr. Brandt although his publicly sworn ally, was virtually the only conservative who left the Bundestag hall laughing today. Last night on television he had mocked the New York Times for suggesting that he had participated in a plot to ruin Mr. Brandt by holding back one or two key conservative votes. Today he told a reporter that the paper had not erred as often as he had said.

Government circles reported today that they know of at least three more coalition deputies voting for Mr. Brandt after secret agreements with the opposition conservatives. This would mean that more conservatives defected.

The switch or switches from the conservative camp appeared partially to answer Willy Brandt's appeal for a "loyal majority" in the Christian Democratic Union. Mr. Jenkins, a British Labor politician, supports Britain's entry into the Common Market, in

opposition to the majority view of his own party.

Mr. Brandt concluded what many agreed was this morning's best speech by reciting a vow borrowed from the 18th-century Königsberg philosopher, Immanuel Kant, a pledge "to do our duty and obligation."

"The work goes on," he said after he had beaten the opposition's no-confidence motion.

Mr. Brandt had been pushed into trying for the chancellorship by his party rival, Helmut Kohl, governor of the state of Rhineland-Palatinate, and by Mr. Strauss.

Almost forgotten in the coalition's euphoria today and the opposition's optimism before today was the original issue in the attack on the Brandt-Scheel government: Ostpolitik, or Eastern policy.

Mr. Brandt confidently predicted Monday night that he had accepted his alliance's push toward

the chancellorship, that the government would fail to get the votes for ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties.

But that was not the issue today. Rather it was the question whether he could overturn the elected government. The answer was betrayal within his own ranks.

The Eastern treaties are the keystone of Mr. Brandt's current foreign policy and the key also to further steps toward easing the tensions in Central Europe. Bonn's parliamentary ratification of the treaties has become the Soviet condition for carrying out its part of the 1971 four-power Berlin agreement, normalization of relations between the two German states, East-West reduction of troops in the region and a limitation on strategic weapons.

The prospects for ratification were improved here today, either in the presently constituted parliament or in a new one resulting from interim elections.

## Kremlin Appears Relieved By Brandt's Victory in Bonn

MOSCOW, April 27 (NYT).—The Soviet government appeared relieved today following Chancellor Willy Brandt's close victory in the confidence vote in the Bundestag.

But in Leningrad, the government newspaper, made it clear that the battle was not yet won. The 1970 goodwill treaty between Moscow and Bonn, on which the Kremlin has staked its European policy, still remains to be ratified. The vote in the Bundestag has been set for next week.

The Russians' anxiety over the fate of the Bonn coalition was reflected in the eagerness with which the controlled public media reported today's vote.

The first news here was a two-line item on the news ticker of Tass, the official press agency, reporting the vote from Bonn.

Rapid Operation

In a newspaper operation that was unusually rapid for the Soviet press, Izvestia was out on the street with the news less than two hours after the result had been announced.

Under the headline, "Collapse of the Opposition Movement," the Bonn correspondent of the Soviet government paper said that "a test of strength has ended with collapse of the rightist opposition's hopes." He added that

the Bundestag vote "confirmed the correctness of the course leading to a relaxation of tension and a strengthening of security in Europe."

Confirmation of the Moscow-Bonn treaty, and of a similar pact between West Germany and Poland, would mark a turning point in Europe as other agreements that the Kremlin has tied to ratification would go into effect. They include arrangements to facilitate contacts between West and East Berlin and between West and East Germany.

The political maneuvering in West Germany over the fate of the Brandt coalition and over the controversial treaties has been crucial for the Soviet leadership, particularly for Leonid I. Brezhnev, the party chief, who has played a prominent part in achieving a rapprochement between the two countries.

## Cautious U.S. Comment

WASHINGTON, April 27 (Reuters).—U.S. officials said that Chancellor Brandt's survival in today's confidence vote enhanced the prospects for continuation of his Ostpolitik ("Eastern policy"). But officials declined direct comment on his victory. The State Department is on record, however, as supporting objectives of Mr. Brandt's policy on Eastern Europe.

## Attack by Poland

WARSAW, April 27 (Reuters).—Polish Foreign Minister Stefan Olszowski today accused the Christian Democratic party of "anti-communist blindness" and described as a "flaccid" their attempt to topple Chancellor Brandt.

Mr. Olszowski made the charge in a report to the parliament on Poland's nonaggression treaty with West Germany, which awaits ratification by the Bonn parliament.

## French Are Silent

PARIS, April 27 (Reuters).—The French government had no formal comment on Chancellor Brandt's success today in surviving the no-confidence vote but, privately, officials were pleased with the outcome.

President Georges Pompidou has made no secret of his support for Chancellor Brandt's East European policy and the new West German treaties with Moscow and Poland.

## Pleasure in Austria

VIENNA, April 27 (Reuters).—Austria's ruling Socialist party today welcomed the news that Chancellor Brandt had survived an opposition attempt to overthrow his coalition regime.

The Socialist party secretary, Fritz Marsch, expressed delight at the result of the no-confidence vote and said that it must gain the approval of every peace-loving person.

Chancellor Bruno Kreisky declined comment.

## Drug Conviction For Italian Actor

ROME, April 27 (AP).—A court today sentenced Walter Chiari, one of Italy's leading actors, to two years and one month in prison for the use and possession of narcotics.

But the court suspended two years of the sentence because of a general amnesty granted after Mr. Chiari's arrest, and said he would not have to serve the other month because he had already spent three months in prison.

Mr. Chiari, 48, who in the 1950s was linked romantically with actress Ava Gardner, was arrested in May, 1970, on charges of possessing, using and trafficking in cocaine. An investigating judge, however, dropped the trafficking charge.

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## 'Through a Glass, Darkly'

Seldom has a peace conference convened under more unusual auspices than those which attended the reopening of the Paris talks. The North Vietnamese offensive, their biggest of the war, was still rolling on; President Nixon had announced he would continue the bombing of the North. An end to both of these had once been preconditions for resuming the Paris discussions—yet the delegates met. The other side is at flood tide—yet Mr. Nixon is drawing out 20,000 more American troops. What did the Russians (or the North Vietnamese) say to Mr. Kissinger that invested his press conference with optimism? What effect has the presidential election campaign upon the decisions made in Washington, or Hanoi?

In a paraphrase of the King James Version, the military, in the National Security Study Memorandum-1, prepared in 1969, commented: "As far as our knowledge of how Hanoi thinks and feels, we see through the glass darkly, if at all." That is still true, for the public at large, at least. It is true about the military prospects on the battlefields, about the effects of continued bombing of the North, there and in the United States; about the political saguaries domestically and the diplomatic saguaries internationally. And, in spite of Mr. Nixon's apparently clear statement Wednesday night, it is true about the precise intentions of the administration.

Nevertheless, the four delegations have met again in Paris—admittedly to exchange polemics at first, but in any event they are talking. And if it is still very far from clear that anything new will emerge from discussions undertaken under such uncertain con-

ditions, and if the Vietnamese are dying at a tragic rate while the negotiators orate, there is more hope in the talking than in the dying.

A consensus in the United States holds that the President's latest television appearance was directed, in substance as well as in appearance, to the American people. He urged them, in effect, to have confidence in South Vietnam's ability to resist, and in his own ability to extricate the United States from the war. There is also a growing belief that the North Vietnamese aimed their offensive at the same address, seeking to convince Americans that Vietnamization would not work, and that Mr. Nixon should be voted out of office or his powers curtailed by Congress unless he complied with Hanoi's terms for a settlement.

It is possible to debate, endlessly, the moralities and immoralities involved in these two positions. Many Americans are repelled by the effects of Vietnamization and the continued American involvement it implies. Many others, however, will consider that the continued withdrawal of U.S. ground troops and the return to the table at Paris constitutes real progress toward the goal virtually all Americans ardently desire: an end of their participation in this struggle so costly in lives and treasure. The North Vietnamese, therefore, cannot count on the revulsion of those committed to immediate peace to affect Mr. Nixon's policies, either by act of Congress or by their ballots in November. This should provide a pragmatic incentive to them to modify their positions in Paris, and moderate the killings in Vietnam.

## The Violent Minority

A small minority of students at Columbia, Harvard, Stanford and a few other universities have arrogated to themselves coercive powers which the majority on these campuses clearly does not wish them to exercise.

At Columbia, a small band without the legitimacy of any constituency defied fellow-students, professors, administrators and the courts by forcefully and illegally blocking access to academic buildings. When university security forces had to be augmented by police, it was the students who first resorted to violence. Although the use of nightsticks is always distasteful on any college campus, the fact that more injuries were sustained by police officers than by students speaks for itself.

In the vain effort to recapture their lost leadership position, the disrupters had sought to ride to power on their fellow-students' revulsion against President Nixon's current Vietnam policy. But violent disruption, always reprehensible in a university setting, is totally indefensible under existing circumstances. Present realities were symbolized by the recent statement of the presidents of the Ivy League colleges, condemning the bombing of North Vietnam and calling for an end of the war. Their message was

clearly an invitation to consolidate anti-war sentiment and action across generational lines, and underscored the folly and fatuousness of the few students who still strike out blindly against the institutions themselves in the false name of peace.

The radicals' arrogant contempt for their fellow-students and teachers' wish to continue their academic work is totalitarian in expression and in effect. It constitutes an assault against both the academic community and the anti-war coalition itself. The Harvard Crimson warned accurately that "such random vandalism only diffuses and debilitates" the anti-war movement.

There is no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the nation's students, faculty members and university administrators oppose the continued American involvement in Vietnam. Such a united front can wield considerable political power, particularly in an election year. The moderate majority must not allow this unity to be shattered by the negativists. There is no contradiction between the undisrupted functioning of the universities and the fight for peace. The real contradiction is in opposing violence abroad while provoking it at home.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## International Opinion

### Kissinger's Secret Mission

The fact that Mr. Kissinger went to Moscow and that the Soviet leaders agreed to receive him shows that both sides are eager to save the summit talks. The fact that a joint communiqué was issued means that both sides convinced each other they did not intend to create a situation that would involve their respective prestige. Americans and Russians are equally interested in not canceling the meeting because the signing of a series of impressive agreements appears possible during the Nixon visit.

But the war in Vietnam might become the main topic and a solution might perhaps emerge from the conversations. Even more so, since some people are wondering whether Kissinger went only to Moscow during these four days. In fact, the communiqué says rather curiously that his sojourn in Russia took place "between" April 20 and April 24 and not "from" the 20th to the 24th.

Can one infer from this that President Nixon's mysterious traveling salesman did not spend four days in Moscow and had conversations with other personalities elsewhere, for example, with Le Duc Tho, one of Hanoi's representatives, in Paris or else-

where? After all, nothing is impossible with that devil of a man Kissinger.

—From France-Soir (Paris).

### Initiative in Ulster

The measures taken in the past month to conciliate the Roman Catholic minority in Ulster make an impressive catalogue. The abolition of Stormont itself fulfilled a cherished Republican ambition, but one which six months ago seemed remote. Mr. Whitelaw has already released 143 internees and detainees. There has undoubtedly been a marked slackening in the tempo of army activity, and now there is talk of an amnesty for illegal marchers.

Yet this has not reduced violence. It has not elicited, even from the opposition parties, any sign of willingness to compromise. The effect on the Irish Republic, to which this initiative was also addressed, is typified in yesterday's news of a £20 fine on the Provisional IRA's chief of staff for illegally possessing a round of ammunition. Add to Mr. Whitelaw's concessions all the radical reforms introduced by Stormont before it was offered as a ritual sacrifice, and the lack of response must seem remarkable.

—From the Daily Telegraph (London).

## In the International Edition

### Seventy-Five Years Ago

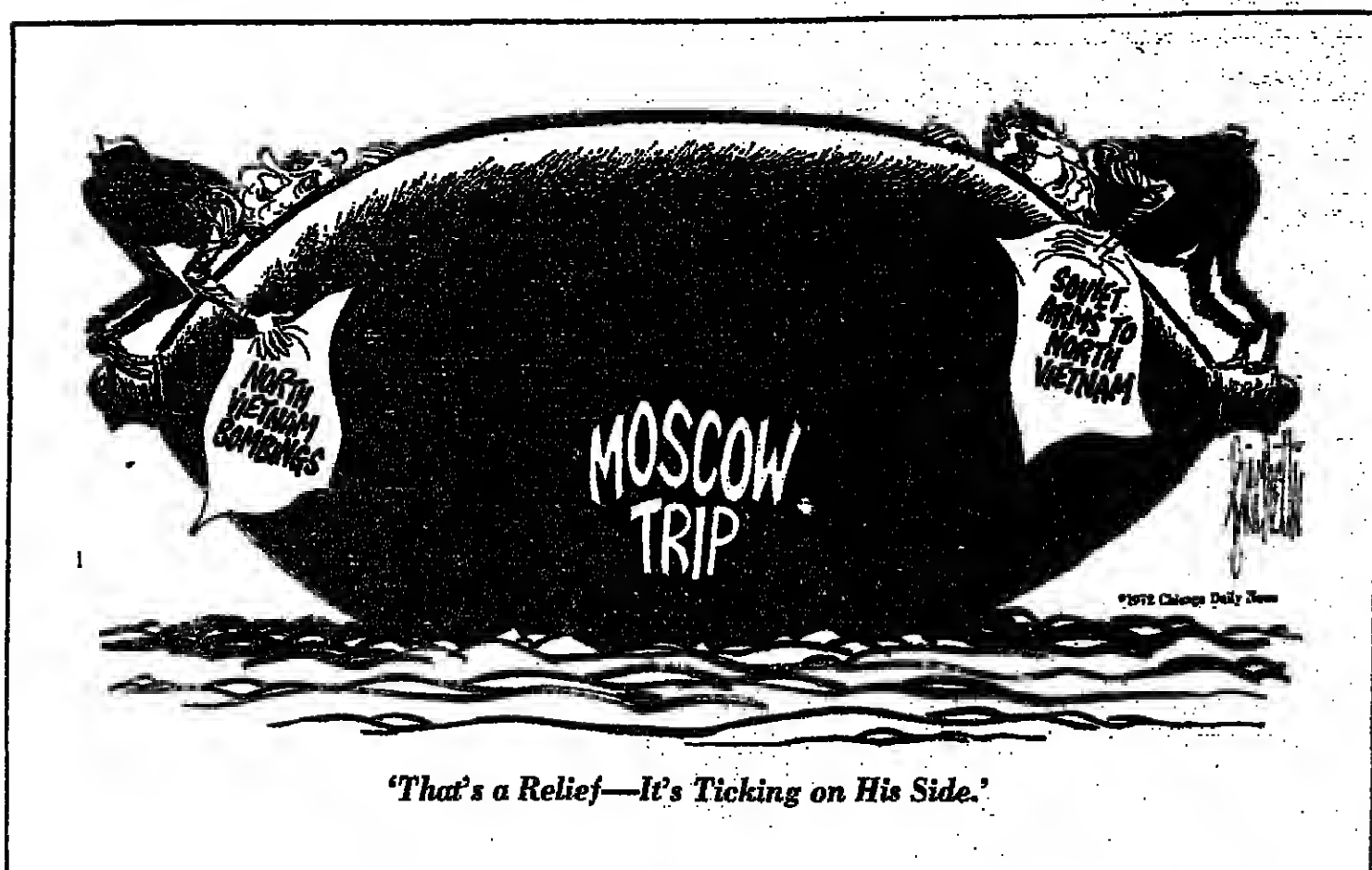
April 28, 1897

NEW YORK—Boats and pneumatic tires are now manufactured on the same principle and these new pneumatic boats can and will be used for life-saving. Constructed of rubber and inflated by means of air-tubes running the whole length, they can be inflated or deflated at will, and when the need arises. Naturally they have great buoyancy and already steamship companies and sailing vessels are showing a great interest.

### Fifty Years Ago

April 28, 1922

WASHINGTON—The United States government has advised the Republic of Cuba that it must remedy the economic and financial conditions of the country, otherwise intervention by this government may be necessary. The warning was sent through Gen. Enoch Crowder and the Cuban Minister here. Gen. Crowder recently came to Washington from Cuba on his special mission to straighten out the tangled affairs of the little island Republic.



## The United States Policy Machine: I

By C. L. Sulzberger

ROME—The tests now being faced by U.S. foreign policy in Asia, Europe and superpower summitry add new dimensions to the debate on whether the machinery which formulates and applies this policy is effective.

During a recent visit to Washington—prior to the full impact of the current Vietnam crisis—I discussed this argument with leaders of both the executive and legislative branches. My final conclusion was that the system applied by the Nixon administration on the whole works.

The debate is primarily between certain senators and the White House. Secretary Rogers's State Department and Henry Kissinger's National Security Council apparatus are used as symbols. In reality it concerns the extent of presidential powers in foreign policy, which some congressional leaders would like to limit.

### Insulation

Sen. Fulbright told me: "As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee I object to the shift of responsibility from the Secretary of State to the National Security Council. It is a sledgehammer to smash the Secretary of State's role in foreign policy." This insulated the makers of foreign policy from consultation with end information to the committee.

"It is important that policies should be exposed to discussion and not just made by one or two fellows without any adversary discussion. You get the impression that what we have now is a kind of intuitive policy-making system. Consultation on basic policy is desirable. But the President is able to insulate policy from congressional interference. All chief executives regard Congress as a damned nuisance."

However, Senate majority leader Mike Mansfield, also a Democrat and also on the Foreign Relations Committee, told me: "I have great admiration for both Kissinger and Rogers. I think what has been happening is a decline in the influence of the State Department and an increase in the influence of the foreign affairs adviser of the President. The person closest to the President's elbow will always have great influence."

"Secretary Rogers has developed ideas of his own, for example on the Middle East. Nevertheless the base of operations has shifted from the State Department to the White House. Presidents are the chief foreign policy makers of the United States but they seem to depend more on their advisers and staff than on the State Department."

"A metamorphosis has taken place and it goes back probably to the time of Jack Kennedy. The close friendship of Nixon and Rogers makes it more possible for Rogers to ride along with criticism and to continue to function in his job. Nixon is extremely fortunate to have a man at his side with the brilliance of Kissinger. If Nixon has made any marks in this administration it is in the field of foreign policy."

It is only fair to repeat that these remarks were made before the latest Vietnam crisis achieved its peak. The views elicited from the executive branch were non-attributable but may be summarized as follows: Rogers seems to feel foreign policy is being successfully conducted and should not be analyzed by measuring the respective influence of those around Nixon. Each President conducts his own way. It is unimportant who gets credit for results if the system works.

The White House feels it is a trend in all modern governments to concentrate foreign policy in the office of the chief executive—

in Russia, China, Britain, France, West Germany. What happens in the United States is part of that historical process. Thus there is no personal conflict, only a structural conflict, between aspects of the Rogers and Kissinger operations.

### Delicate Problems

Nixon tries to devote maximum personal attention to U.S. activities abroad and clearly values

the help of the hard-working, intelligent Kissinger in coordinating the individual policy predilections of different bureaucratic factions. His role is to whip varying opinions into line and to keep delicate problems away from premature exposure in the press.

The Kissinger function—when not involved in secret negotiations—is to drive the diffuse U.S. bureaucracy against its inclinations, produce policy alternatives

and allow the President to make his own precise decisions as problems arise. This seems to suit Nixon who doesn't want to be a rubber stamp for anyone—including the State Department.

The President wants to avoid both indiscreet leaks and obstructive double talk. These combined goals in methodology produce some irritation. The consequences will be discussed in a subsequent column.

## McGovern a Tough One

By David S. Broder

BOSTON—Sen. George McGovern of South Dakota is now the subject of an "agonizing reappraisal" being made by the politicians and pundits of America. George Stanley McGovern is the latest in an uncomformably long series of candidates whose characters, personalities and political strengths have been grossly misjudged by those of us in the business of reporting them.

Among the questions we have not yet begun to answer are these: How did a soft-spoken, sometimes minister and college teacher who balked at helping organized labor achieve its main political goal—repeal of the right-to-work laws—emerge as the working man's candidate in this campaign?

How does the history PhD from Northwestern University and veteran of 16 years on the Washington scene with George Wallace for the votes of those protesting the way those "pointy-headed liberals" have been running the government for the past generation?

How does this seemingly conventional Democrat—who, when last seen in presidential politics was holding up Hubert Humphrey's hand at the conclusion of the Chicago battle of 1968—now appear as the architect of the potential overthrow of the party's traditional hierarchy?

Has George McGovern changed clothes? Or did we have him figured wrong all along? In pursuit of answers to those questions, the reporters covering the Democratic presidential race

are reading Robert Sam Anson's new biography of McGovern, which is competent but not particularly insightful on questions like these; re-reading some of McGovern's own speeches of the last four years, which carry more of the tone of anti-establishment protest than one remembered, and listening with increased respect to those who have been telling us for some time that we were misjudging and underestimating the man. A good place to start—and my own effort to re-examine my view of McGovern has hardly gotten beyond the start—is with that quality of toughness that so many of McGovern's old friends mention. It's not obvious in his speaking style, which even now is relaxed and almost detached in its quality; neither does it appear in the anecdotes one hears about his relations with his staff, his colleagues in the Senate, or his opponents in this campaign.

### Look at Politics

But it's there in his history. If one looks. Leave aside his World War II record, his economic struggle for education and support of a family. Just look at politics.

We've all written and known that Hubert Humphrey and Ed Muskie had to build the Democratic parties in their states before they could gain office. What we haven't said is that George McGovern did the same thing—under even more adverse circumstances—in South Dakota. Nineteen years ago, when

Hubert Humphrey was already a senator and Ed Muskie was just a year away from being governor, McGovern quit his job teaching history at Dakota Wesleyan and—with a family of six—went to work as the executive director of the Democratic party of South Dakota. His salary was \$5,500 a year—which he had to raise from contributions himself.

Republicans, Anson's book tells us, controlled the governorship, both U.S. Senate seats, all 35 seats in the State Senate and all but two of the 75 seats in the State House. If ever there was barren ground for a Democrat, it was South Dakota in 1963.

### 100-Vote Margin

But George McGovern took that job for one reason: to build an organization for his own candidacy. By 1966, he had succeeded well enough to get himself elected to Congress over a four-term incumbent.

He held the seat in 1968 against the challenge of a war-hero Republican governor, lost in his first try for the Senate in 1969, but came back two years later and won by the margin of 100 votes.

At a recent campaign stop, Wisconsin's Gov. Frank J. Taylor, a new addition to the McGovern bandwagon, introduced the senator with a phrase he said, "would have sounded foolishly optimistic only a few weeks ago—the next President of the United States." No one laughed, and George McGovern didn't even blink. Tough. Very tough.

## Letters

### Across the DMZ

My first reaction to Anthony Lewis's writings following the North Vietnamese invasion of South Vietnam across the DMZ was to consider his response robotic—on the order of those of the Swedish protest marchers and doctrinaire individuals such as Sen. Kennedy and Fulbright. But I later decided that Mr. Lewis actually displayed a lot of imagination when he labeled his own country as "the world's most dangerous" though its neighbors—Canada and Mexico—don't seem to feel the need to erect defensive fortifications along thousands of miles of frontier.

And I later realized, too, that it takes fantastic creativity to say of the North Vietnamese: "They are killing human beings... but in a genuine cause." (IET, April, 18).

Of course, the drawback to such an exhibition of imagination and creativity is that it could be misconstrued as sedition or insanity.

K. H. HECHE.

Taby, Sweden.

### War Semantics

Vice-President Agnew employs curious logic in accusing the administration's critics of semantic sophistry on the issue of the war in Indochina (IET April 14). The crossing of the DMZ by North Vietnamese troops may, as Agnew asserts, be an "invasion," and may differ from what the administration termed the "invasion" or "cross-border operation" by American troops in Cambodia during May and June of 1970. But to apply the ad-

ministration's euphemisms to the Cambodian operation was and is semantic sophistry in itself; the same logic would force us to change our history books to talks about the "Normandy incursion" or the "cross-border operations of D-Day."

Semantics are not the real issue; they are the prettifying words of an administration desperate to manipulate American public opinion. The real issue is that the administration has been dishonest, promising a "secret path to end the war" and delivering only a new and wider war above tree-top level. The ultimate in semantic sophistry is for the administration to contend, as it does implicitly, that it is better for Americans to be killed by a SAM than by an AK-47, and that it is better for Vietnamese to be killed by American bombs or by one another than by American bullets.

ERIC REDMAN.

Oxford, England.

### Hold On, Barry

The reasoning of some of our so-called leaders absolutely defies logic. Take, for a prime example, Sen. Barry Goldwater's recent cerebral display on the floor of the Senate:

"I would rather blow the living daylight out of Haiphong than to lose one more American life... if Russian ships are bombed, that's too damn bad. I hope we hit all of them—they have no business in Haiphong."

Now hold on, Barry. Assuming the government of North Vietnam is at least as independent as the one in South Vietnam, which we

all know is a haven for democracy and freedom of choice, and assuming this government asked the Russians to come, then the Russians have as much business in Haiphong as the United States does in, say, Danang or Saigon.

DAVID C. NUNAN.

Moulton, Texas.

### Fixing the Blame

Jean Nascimben in a letter (IET April 22-23) fails to say anything about the North Vietnamese invasion which caused the bombing.

Nor did she think to mention the atrocities committed by the Hanoi regime for decades. Atrocities that defy description. Those who constantly criticize the United States always fail to cite the inhuman conduct of the Communist bandits in Hanoi, puppets if you will of the Kremlin and Peking. These are the true "war criminals" in Vietnam.

ERIC REDMAN.

Oxford, England.

## Eban Drops Out of U.S. Limelight

By Marilyn Berger

WASHINGTON—When Israeli Foreign Minister Abba Eban came to the United States six months ago he was interviewed on several television shows, as usual.

Eban, sometimes considered the most articulate statesman since Winston Churchill, has always been a big drawing card for the television networks.

Eban was here again last week. His remarks, elegantly stated as always, went virtually unrecorded. "We have lost our first place in the hierarchy of international tensions," Eban declared at a dinner Thursday evening. In these pre-summit days, Vietnam has again become the No. 1 topic. No one could be happier about his descent from stardom than Abba Eban.

While the Israelis were always eager to point up the dangers of Soviet penetration in the Middle East, they were even more anxious to play down any indications that war is imminent. They wanted the big powers to tend to their own problems and to leave it to the countries of the region to make their own arrangements. Eban appeared confident that the United States had finally adopted the Israeli position and would not try to impose any solutions on the region. Thus, the Moscow summit no longer seems to hold any terrors for the Israelis.

"There is no doubt in our minds that the Soviet Union will raise this problem," Eban told a National Press Club audience last week. "Our hope is that the United States will continue to maintain its tenacious fidelity to its principle" of not imposing settlement. "We are not a good candidate for exported or imposed solutions."

"There is still room for the Soviets to understand this," he added, and he seemed to imply that President Nixon might help them understand.

Egyptian President Anwar Sadat is reportedly going to Moscow before the summit, in an effort to get a Soviet initiative for a Middle East settlement. But after an 80-minute discussion with Secretary of State William P. Rogers and other U.S. officials, Eban ended confidence that Mr. Nixon would stand firm against any secret deals.

### Secure With U.S.

It seemed equally sure that Israel could totally rely upon the U.S. commitment to maintain the balance of power in the region. Israeli and American relations, he said Thursday, "are at the highest peak of mutual understanding and confidence."

Reinforced by Uncle Sam's support—Eban credited it for having "cooled" off the situation in the Middle East—Eban continues to be outspoken in stating Israel's requirements for a settlement. There must be "recognized, secure and new borders" to "correct those specific neuronic points of inflammation," he says.

"Nearly all-expected theme was that in five years everything had been tried—UN General Assembly sessions, four-power talks, two-power talks—everything but negotiations among the states directly concerned. As he had said in the summer of 1967 just after the six-day war to reporters then at the United Nations, there could be no settlement without such talks."

Now, however, Eban seems more certain that there are no alternatives and that nothing can be forced upon his country. For short of a settlement Israel is quite prepared to hold to the status quo. In Eban's words: "The maintenance of the status quo is not intolerable... it is complex but not intolerable."

V. DALE SMITH.

Frankfurt.

### Backs RFE

Referring to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, a reader asserts (Letters, April 21) that "it seems highly questionable to continue to spend large amounts of tax money for these broadcasts."

(a) Your reader should quote RFE on the subject of the Berlin Wall and its minefields—then state his own views on this subject and let others decide whether it is highly questionable to continue to support such broadcasts.

(b) RFE and Radio Liberty defended and defend the rights among others of Jews in Russia. "Highly questionable" work?

S. D. ABRAMOFF.

Rottterdam.



### 3 Major Italian Unions Call 2-Week 'Truce' For Election

By Paul Hoffmann

ROME, April 27 (UPI)—Italy, where striking is a way of life, has started an unusual, two-week experiment with every man doing his job, or almost.

For reasons of political expediency, the country's three major trade union organizations yesterday proclaimed a halt of all labor conflicts until after the general elections on May 7-8.

The newspapers are speaking about a labor truce. But union leaders say they don't like the term. The reason seems to be that the word "truce" suggests eventual peace, whereas some of the most important unions now are preparing for new struggles right after the elections, or later this year.

### 607 Arrests Made in Italy In Crackdown

ROME, April 27 (UPI)—Police staged a new nationwide, anti-crime operation today, checking tens of thousands of persons and arresting hundreds.

Incomplete reports coming in from nine cities said that more than 5,000 policemen set up roadblocks, searched cars and homes of suspects and arrested 607 persons caught committing crimes or wanted on arrest warrants.

They filed charges against 1,592 others, seized hundreds of illegal weapons and quantities of explosives and recovered vast amounts of stolen goods, including at least 18 cars, paintings and 420 cars.

Using jeeps on the mainland and motorboats in the Venetian Lagoon, police checked the identities of more than 242,885 persons and ownership of more than 138,963 cars.

Among those arrested in Naples was Antonio Camporeale, 52, an alleged Mafia chieftain from Palermo, Sicily, who was evading a 1 1/2-year term for criminal conspiracy.

Today's police operation was part of a series of crackdowns on crime that began more than one year ago. The crackdowns were intensified as the May 7 elections approached.

Today's raids were the second nationwide crackdown in 15 days. In a similar operation on April 12, police checked or searched 163,213 persons, arrested nearly 500 and brought charges against 432. Other crackdowns have occurred almost daily on a city-by-city basis.

The Interior Ministry said that, since the series of crackdowns began, police have arrested or charged 39,630 persons with common crimes, including 142 murders, 487 robberies and 399 extortions or kidnappings.

They recovered a total 40,497, stolen cars and seized thousands of firearms, including 93 sub-machine guns, tons of explosives and ammunition and illegal radio transmitters.

### Prosecution Makes New Bid To Use Angela Davis 'Diary'

SAN JOSE, Calif., April 27 (UPI)—Superior Court Judge Richard Aronson yesterday sent the Angela Davis jury home for the rest of the week and scheduled an all-day closed conference today on the prosecution's latest attempt to introduce a document of "critical importance" into evidence.

The document is an 18-page "diary" reportedly written by Miss Davis. It was found in the cell of black revolutionary George Jackson after he was killed at San Quentin Prison in an alleged escape attempt last year.

Prosecutor Albert W. Harris Jr. has called it crucial to his murder, kidnapping and conspiracy case against Miss Davis.

Judge Aronson earlier in the week upheld a defense motion to bar the document from evidence on grounds that it was "immaterial" but said he might entertain a motion by Mr. Harris to present an edited version.

Opposing Views

Mr. Harris said today that the editing had been done and "I believe we now have an admissible document." The defense objected strenuously.

The document has never been made public. Mr. Harris indicated in his opening statement that it contained references to a passionate "physical involvement" between Miss Davis and Jackson and would support his contention that she helped plot the 1971 Marin County Courthouse fatal kidnappings in an effort to force his release from prison.

Yesterday's morning session was devoted to an argument between attorneys over prosecution attempts to question Jackson's lawyer, Judge Aronson sent the jury out.

The lawyer, John Thorne, was accompanied by his own attorney, Black Panther lawyer Charles Garry, who first refused to let him answer questions.

Mr. Harris said he expected to elicit information that Mr. Thorne saw Miss Davis in a Salinas, Calif., courtroom on May 1970, and also in a San Francisco courtroom on July 15, 1970, dates when "Soldado Brother" Jackson was appearing in his trial for the killing of a Soledad State Prison guard. (The two surviving "Soldado Brothers" subsequently were acquitted of the charges.)

Telephone Call

Mr. Harris indicated that he also hoped to get from Mr. Thorne information on a telephone call he said Miss Davis made to Mr. Thorne on the eve



NEW LINK—Reporters crossing footwalk on one cable of the bridge over the Bosphorus in Istanbul on Wednesday. Over 3,200 feet long, it was started in February of 1970 and is due for completion in July of 1973.

### Obituaries Kwame Nkrumah, 'Redeemer' Of African Nationalism

DAKAR, Senegal, April 27 (AP)—Kwame Nkrumah, 62, the former president of Ghana and one of the leaders of the African independence movement, died today in exile in Conakry, Guinea, the Guinean radio reported.

President Sekou Touré of Guinea personally made the announcement of Mr. Nkrumah's death on the national radio, monitored here. He said death came after "a long and painful illness."

Mr. Touré ordered three days of national mourning for the man once known in black Africa as "Osoyefo," the "Redeemer." No immediate indications were disclosed about burial plans.

Mr. Nkrumah, one of the founders of the African unity movement, had been reported critically ill with cancer. He was said to be under treatment in various Eastern European cities as well as in Guinea. Ghanaian authorities only last week said they were considering requests to allow Mr. Nkrumah to return to live in his homeland.

On Feb. 24, 1966, the army toppled him. The new regime, led by Kwame Nkrumah, was accused of the deposition of Nkrumah and corruption.

From exile in Guinea, Mr. Nkrumah made regular, often hysterical broadcasts denouncing the new government as a "stupid clique of renegades."

Talks of the Guinea Army invading and "liberating" Ghana became little more than a joke. His former associates rushed to denounce him and Mr. Touré gave him only asylum.

He declared himself president for life, and drove a fleet of Cadillacs as the national economy crumbled.

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### Sadat Visits Moscow, Gets Top Welcome

Sees Russian Leaders 2d Time in 3 Months

By Theodore Shabad

MOSCOW, April 27 (UPI)—President Anwar Sadat of Egypt came to Moscow today for the second time in three months to lay his case for a Middle East settlement before the Soviet leaders in preparation for their talks with President Nixon next month.

The Egyptian visitor was welcomed at flag-draped Vnukovo Airport by Premier Alexei N. Kosygin and by Mikhail A. Suslov, one of the Communist party's national secretaries. The general secretary, Leonid I. Brezhnev, was absent.

The military character of Mr. Sadat's latest visit appeared to be emphasized by the fact that he was accompanied by Gen. Husein Mubarak, commander of the Egyptian Air Force, and that the commander of the Soviet Air Force, Marshal Pavel S. Kutakhov, was among the welcome.

Requests for Weapons

This suggested that the Cairo leader might make requests for more weapons beyond the arms supplied to him by the Soviet Union on his last visit, in early February. Total Soviet arms aid to Egypt was recently put by Cairo at \$5 billion.

A major purpose of Mr. Sadat's latest trip, however, is believed to be a wide-ranging discussion of the situation in the Middle East, which is bound to be one of the topics of conversation between President Nixon and the Soviet leaders.

Mr. Sadat is understood to have expressed concern in Cairo that the renewed heavy fighting in South Vietnam and American bombings of the North might overshadow the Middle East issue on the agenda of the U.S.-Soviet talks. He is expected to impress the Kremlin with the need for giving the Arab-Israeli issue a high priority.

Another new element is the recent proposal of King Hussein of Jordan to federate the two banks of the Jordan River under his rule. Mr. Sadat has said the plan is part of a campaign to sow confusion in the Arab camp and has severed relations with Jordan.

There has been speculation that President Nixon may try to interest the Soviet Union in King Hussein's plan as a possible solution of the deadlocked Middle East situation, at least as far as Jordan is concerned.

The Egyptian leader is expected to remain in Moscow two or three days. It was not known whether he might meet Gennadiy V. Jarring, the Swedish ambassador to Moscow, who is about to resume his United Nations-sponsored efforts to achieve an Arab-Israeli settlement.

Mr. Sadat's journey to Moscow follows a tough speech two days ago in which he pledged—at a ceremony marking the birth of the Prophet Mohammed—that next year's birthday would be celebrated by the Arabs' recovery of territories occupied by Israel since the 1967 war.

### Indian Negotiator to Meet Bhutto Today About Summit

By James P. Sterba

MURREE, Pakistan, April 27.—D. P. Dhar, chief Indian negotiator, stressed yesterday, according to delegation sources, that India was well aware of Mr. Bhutto's domestic troubles and did not want to aggravate them.

Mr. Dhar reportedly expressed the view it was in India's interest to have a stable, healthy and non-belligerent Pakistan under civilian control on its western flank. Indian officials are said to believe that domestic upheavals would most likely result in a take-over by the Pakistani military, which would be prone to renew a policy of confrontation.

With the country near economic collapse and bankruptcy, labor restive and big business in the doldrums, Mr. Bhutto is facing increasingly sharp and sometimes violent campaigns for provincial autonomy in the northwest frontier and Baluchistan.

Those campaigns are in some ways similar to the campaign by Sheikh Mujibur Rahman's Awami League, in former East Pakistan, that led to war with India last December, severing Pakistan's east wing, which became Bangladesh.

Delegation sources said both sides saw no obstacles to opening diplomatic relations although there were differences on the timing.

Informants said a date for the summit would probably be agreed upon tomorrow, and that the meeting might take place within the next two weeks. Indian negotiators were said to be receptive to a Pakistani appeal for a quickly convened summit to avoid internal public debate in Pakistan that could be used by opposition politicians already mounting a vigorous campaign against Mr. Bhutto's domestic policies.

Deep Suspicion

Despite Mr. Dhar's reported remarks, there is a deep suspicion in Pakistan of India's ultimate aims, and some government officials have privately noted that there is evidence of Soviet subversion aimed at building secessionist movements in the north-west frontier and Baluchistan.

They suggest that the Soviet aim is to further an Indian ultimate ambition of disintegrating then annexing Pakistan.

Nevertheless, Mr. Dhar's remarks were said to be "comforting" to the Pakistanis who insist that Mr. Bhutto has little choice but to refuse any Indian proposals for Pakistani concessions that would lead to the domestic political furor that could topple him.

1 Dies in Border Incident

NEW DELHI, April 27 (Reuters)—The Press Trust of India news agency reported that an Indian farmer was killed and three injured today when a Pakistani Army patrol fired across the Indo-Pakistan border, at Ehmikaran, near Amritsar.

2 Earthquakes Cause Damage on Island of Lesbos

LESBOS, April 27 (Reuters)—Eighty homes were damaged yesterday when two earthquakes rocked five villages on this Greek island in the Aegean yesterday, police said.

The village church in Stipsi collapsed. The communities of Lefkisa, Pteri, Skotaro and Vafio also were damaged, but there were no casualties, police added.

Manila Shaken

MANILA, April 27 (Reuters)—Manila and its suburbs today were rocked by an earthquake for the second day in succession. But no casualties or damage were reported.

Today's quake was weaker than yesterday's tremor, which brought down some power lines.

Tremor at Viterbo

VITERBO, Italy, April 27 (Reuters)—Inhabitants ran into the streets when a tremor shook Viterbo during the night. But no damage or injuries were reported. Viterbo is about 100 kilometers north of Rome.

Greek Students Demonstrate for Changes, Rights

ATHENS, April 27 (Reuters)—Three hundred students demonstrated today about their examination procedure and another 2,500 went on strike over students' rights.

Today's events—after a demonstration last week in which some students shouted "Democracy, democracy"—are the first open displays of student unrest since the present regime seized power in April, 1967.

Police today dispersed the 300 demonstrating students from the physics-mathematics school. No incidents were reported.

The students have refused to attend classes since Tuesday unless their school applies a seven-month-old ruling by the Ministry of Education changing the way in which examinations are held.

### Labor Woes May Affect BEA, Subway

Pilots Plan Strike; Go-Slow in London

LONDON, April 27 (UPI)—Two more of Britain's key transportation services were threatened with disruption today.

Pilots for the state-owned British European Airways (BEA), which runs most internal British services and those to Europe, threatened an all-out strike.

Union members on the London subway system, which carries millions of passengers daily, threatened a "work to rule" protest unless their full wage demands are met by May 8.

A similar go-slow on the nation's rails was in cold storage until May 7, by court order.

BEA fired 17 pilots yesterday and today for refusing to make training flights on a new aircraft. The pilots' union—the British Airline Pilots Association (BALPA)—had ordered its members not to make the flights until a new wage agreement was signed.

Strike Action

BALPA was assembling its executive for an emergency meeting to consider strike action.

London's subway men demanded a 16 percent pay hike. Transport officials offered to match whatever settlement is made by the railways. The subway men rejected this, and said they would start a go-slow May 8 which would be "worse than the southern region" unless their claim is met in full.

The southern region of Britain's railways was the hardest hit in a two-week go-slow which entered a "cooling-off" period Monday. Britain's new National Industrial Relations Court ordered the 14-day pause to allow railway unions and the state-owned railways to settle the pay dispute.

### Rail Strike Ends In Japan, too Late For Commuters

TOKYO, April 27 (Reuters)—Japan's national railroad strike ended tonight, too late to ease a nightmare day for commuters, who had faced bus, ferry and taxi stoppages, as well as the rail disruption.

Private and state rail employees called a 48-hour strike today to back their pay claims, but the 200,000 private railroad workers quickly accepted a compromise offer, so easing the evening rush hour in Tokyo, where they run the subway.

The 320,000 state railroad employees held out for several hours but finally settled on similar terms. By then, some 12 million commuters had tackled a long walk home.

Rail-operated bus and ferry crews had also stopped work and a partial without by taxi drivers barred alternative routes for city workers.

Major ports were also paralyzed by the start of a 96-hour dock strike, coinciding with a protected walkout by seamen. Goods were piling up on the docks as truck drivers also stopped work today to back wage demands.

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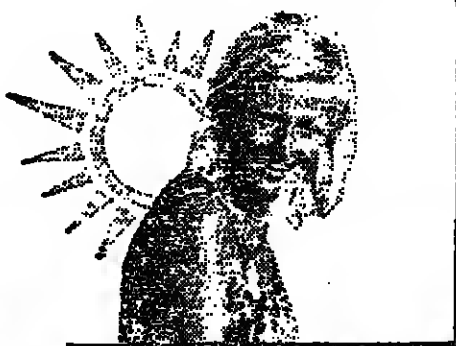
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### Irving Marder

## Tent Show for a Plastic Age

PARIS (IHT).—The world of psychedelic light and sound is about to descend on the blameless Paris suburb of Pantin. It will be housed in an enormous inflatable plastic hemisphere set up in the Place de l'Eglise, within a Rolling Stone's throw of the church.

The hemisphere, called the Modulobul, looks like a captive balloon that has sunk halfway into the earth, possibly as the result of a bad trip from outer space. Wires anchor it to the ground, but do not dispel the impression that the Modulobul could take off again at a moment's notice.

Its promoters, however, have evidently settled down for a long stay. They promise not just another "spectacle" but a "new experience" to all comers: a "flowering of images," operas of color, "music for the eye." And, of course, music for the ear as well, but for the ear attuned to the new sound.

The Modulobul was built to accommodate 1,000 to 1,200 spectators. The apparatus that inflates it and keeps the air pressure inside at a constant level is backed up by a gasoline motor activated automatically if necessary. In addition to a pair of re-

volving-door entrances, there are four emergency exits. The designers have evidently profited from studies of incidents at dance halls, stadiums and other structures where fires or stampedes led to mass tragedy. The plastic skin is described as very tough and resistant.

The Modulobul's season will begin Friday, May 5, with a "free jazz" concert by the Frank Wright Quartet. This will be followed by a program of contemporary electronic music May 6, the Celestial Communications Orchestra on May 11, and Pop Celtique on May 12.

The visual part of each concert, synchronized with the music, will be produced by Le Théâtre de Lumière, directed by J.C. Lardy. The promoters explain that their projects are not to be confused with the conventional son et lumière spectacles. What they seek is not to "illustrate" the music but "to achieve a closer collaboration among the elements of music, gesture, speech and image."

They envision an "orchestra of light" in which the performers produce "notes of light" to complement the music for the eye. Modulobul's high-flying imagery falls, however, to answer the question of whether their hemi-

### The Modulobul and the church in Paris suburb of Pantin.

sphere is soundproofed, and if so, how well. Would the sacred music of Bach and Handel, emanating from the nearby church, have to compete with that of the Celestial Communications Orchestra and the Pop Celtique?

If it came to a crunch, avenues of counterattack would still be open for the church fathers. They could lay down a barrage of the "Hallelujah Chorus" at full volume, to be followed, say, by recordings of George Harrison's "My Sweet Lord," Louis Arm-

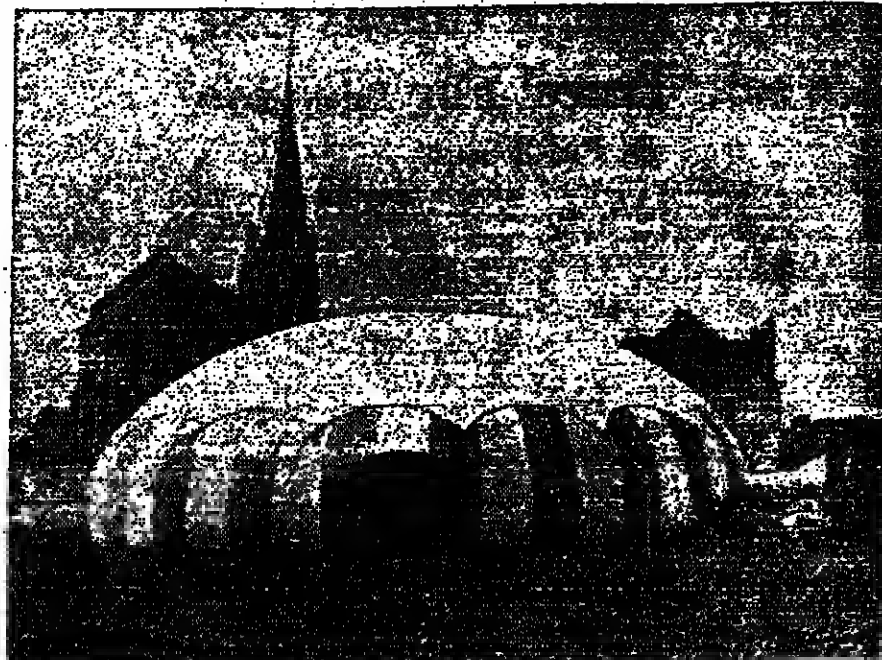
strong's "When the Saints Go Marchin' In," and one of Mahalia Jackson's Gospel albums.

If all else fails, they could fight the enemy with his own weapons by installing amplifiers in the bell tower. They might also consider the possibility of legal action on the ground of noise pollution. In any case, one may be sure that the church, with its inner reserves of fortitude, will not remain indifferent to this challenge.

Meanwhile the monster squats there silently (until May 5), if

not a blight on the countryside, hardly an adornment.

Fundamentally, of course, the Modulobul is the Plastic Age equivalent of the tent show—the small circuses and carnivals that used to be common in the United States, and maybe still are, deep in the hinterland. Looking at its picture and squinting a little, you can all but smell the salt dust, the popcorn, the hot dogs and the hamburgers, and hear the barker out front chanting, "Hurry, hurry, hurry, folks, the big show is about to begin!"



### Movies in Paris

## Godard's Absorbing 'Tout Va Bien'

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss

PARIS, April 27 (IHT).—Jean-Luc Godard is still the liveliest wire in the French cinema. "Tout Va Bien" (at the Elysées-Lincoln III, the Dragon, the Quartier Latin and the Imperial Pathé) is not only his most coherent film since 1968, but also offers an oblique but revealing slice of autobiography, a candid

view of the director in a distressing dilemma. It operates on several levels, examining problems that confront many creative talents these days. Jean-Pierre Gorin collaborated with Godard on this occasion.

The film begins with a lampoon on movie making. "To make a film one must have money" is an introductory platitude

in the Mao manner. The money is supplied by signing checks. Next, the unseen and evidently passé producer orders stars, they are necessary. Jane Fonda and Yves Montand are engaged. Now a story—preferably a love story—is required and Godard invents a fable about a Gallic director married to an American radio correspondent. They have ecstatically experienced the student riots of 1968 together and this has left them with a troubling idealism.

She—with her husband as her interpreter companion—goes to interview a sausage manufacturer who is being held prisoner in his office by left-wing employees. This strong-armed move meets with strenuous objections from the Communist-dominated union. The three-cornered struggle is depicted with the captured capitalist, the union delegate and the independent revolutionaries expressing their views. The manufacturer is quite roughly handled by his captors, but, it is explained, he has imposed humiliating restrictions on his workers who are underpaid and forced to toil in smelly quarters.

The Yankee lady dashes off to tell the world, but her report is rejected by her broadcasting station. It was poor stuff, she admits, for she cannot write of social strife as effectively as, say, Upton Sinclair.

Her husband, failing to find financing for a historic epic, churns out commercial shorts for a living. He is interrupted at his ghastly trade to comment on his predicament. It is like that of many other "intellectuals" who were similarly derided emotionally by the events of May, 1968, and now that "tout va bien" again on the surface are at a loss as to what road to take. The mutual dependence of the star pair seems due to wreck their shallow marriage. Godard concludes with a restatement of his critique of consumer society with wide panning views of a hippie hand invading a supermarket and tossing the goods about until the police whistle sounds. A terminating title announces that the class struggle will continue. Montand delivers his oration on

the thwarted movie maker's woes convincingly, but Jane Fonda, now a brunette, has little to do and seems to have drawn an assignment that intentionally or unintentionally borders on caricature. Her know-it-all journalist from the United States keeps reminding one of the chic efficiency expert whose aid was so encumbering in Tati's "Traffic."

Though his wistful sighs for the good old days of 1968 may strike one as sentimental and sophomoric, Godard has organized what he has to say neatly in terms of the camera—in a series of arresting frames. He is master of the graphic snapshot and succeeds in keeping the interspersed interviews from becoming top-heavy harangues.

His controversial film is quick with brilliant technique and his portrait of what threatens to be another lost generation is constantly absorbing and provocative. Godard, seriously injured in a motorcycle accident last summer and still depending on a cane to get about, must return to the hospital for a second operation shortly. After that, he reports, he will edit the material he shot in Palestine before he began work on "Tout Va Bien."

"I intend to frame the Palestinians perhaps as a lesson on how a historic film should be made today," he said. "The pompous approach of old and the mere newswel-

coverage are both outdated. A revision of presentation method is required. That is the job I have set myself."

"The Last Picture Show" (at the Vendôme and the Elysées-Lincoln I in English) is the second feature of Peter Bogdanovich, who made "Targets" find an interesting documentary in the directorial career of John Ford. Bogdanovich's own directorial career progresses promisingly with his vivid study of a small Texas town falling into decay during the 1950s. Both the gloomy setting and the conflicts of the dramatic personae are treated with a realistic flair that is remarkably sustained throughout. We have here a valuable piece of authentic Americana, a motion picture admirably acted and intelligently composed and one that benefits directly from Bogdanovich's exacting examination of Ford's methods in character delineation.

"Continental Circus" (at the Monte Carlo) is a deft documentary about motorcycle races and racers, disclosing the life of the participants when off the hot rods and suggesting the threat of sudden death that hovers over them. It is perhaps a bit special and for those not fans of the sport a trifle too long, but it is technically excellent.



Yves Montand and Jane Fonda in "Tout Va Bien."

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### Entertainment in New York

NEW YORK, April 27 (IHT).—This is how critics rate the new shows:

"And They Put Hands on the Flowers," written and directed by Fernando Arrabal, English translation by Charles Marowitz, is "by no means a play for the squeamish." Clive Barnes reports in the Times. "It uses sexual and scatological imagery with an effectiveness—before that I have never encountered before." The play, showing four men in a contemporary Spanish political prison, earlier been produced off-Broadway, but has been given a new staging at the O'Casey Theater of the Mercer Arts Center where, according to Barnes, "its power and its pain were more evident than ever. On many counts this is an extraordinary work," Barnes said.

"The Little Black Book," at the Helen Hayes Theater, written by Jean-Claude Carrière, and adapted by playwright Jerome Killy, failed to please two critics. "It is little and it is black. It hardly has a book to call its own," The Times critic Clive Barnes writes. In fact, it hardly has

anything to call its own, Barnes says. The plot, about a girl (Delphine Seyrig) who arrives at a man's apartment, unannounced, unknown, and proceeds to move in, is "cut so thin that the author could probably make a decent living in the delicatessen business slicing cold cuts for sandwiches." William Glover, of Associated Press, said: "Whatever kept the French original running through two boulevard seasons certainly isn't detectable now."

"God Says There Is No Peter O'Neil," a play by Bill Hays, directed by Leland Ball, resembles a daytime television serial. "The Times critic reports. According to Clive Barnes, the play, about a "warm, nice lady with a tart tongue" and the "pregnant and very unpleasant" young woman who is sent to her Cape Cod guest house for the summer, is "not very interesting, its writing is obvious and its characterization so one-dimensional that it could make a cube seem like a square." Yet "perhaps there is an audience for this kind of play," Barnes says. "It's no worse than run-of-the-mill television drama or what is patronizingly known as women's fiction. It is also certainly no better." Sue McClanahan and Tom Ligon (playing Peter O'Neil, father of the unborn child) head the cast at the McAlpin Rooftop Theater.

"Cold Feet," by Marvin Pletské, is labeled "new comedy farce." Mel Gussow relates in The Times. But the evening is "not only unrelievedly witless, but also tasteless," in his opinion. The hero is a shoe salesman, who is also a virgin. Ladies try to seduce him, and he tries to fit them with shoes. "Old vaudeville jokes

don't die." AP's William Glover comments. "They end up in a damn dreary old 'Cold Feet'." The yuck-yuck in this show includes, Glover reports: "I'm in shoes," announces the young salesman to his prospective bride's father, who retorts: "Well, who isn't?"

### 2 Other Works

#### Found Under

#### Titian Painting

WASHINGTON, April 27 (WP).—An X-ray camera has discovered three paintings on the canvas "Venus With a Mirror," by Titian, hanging in the National Gallery of Art here.

A portrait of a man and a woman, as well as an earlier Venus, differently clothed, have been discovered underneath the famous work by the Renaissance master.

This is the first important X-ray discovery at the National Gallery in 25 years, when a painting by Bellini was found beneath Titian's "Feast of the Gods."

The two paintings under "Venus With a Mirror" were discovered by Dr. Fern R. Shapley during a routine X-raying. Dr. Shapley, former curator of paintings at the gallery, is cataloging the gallery's Italian holdings.

She found under the final Venus another figure, almost identically posed but differently clothed. Instead of a nude figure holding a heavy robe over her lap, Titian's first version shows a woman holding a filmy garment that partly covers her breasts. Parts of the fabric, held with the left hand, drape her knees.

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BUSINESS

FINANCE

U.S. Trade Deficit Hits Record in 1st Quarter

WASHINGTON, April 27 (AP).—The U.S. trade deficit fell slightly in March but the aggregate three-month deficit rose to a record \$1.5 billion, the Commerce Department reported today.

Way Found For U.K. to Repay IMF

WASHINGTON, April 27 (AP).—The International Monetary Fund (IMF) announced today that it has agreed to accept arrangements for the British government's repayment of more than \$1 billion in outstanding loans.

The United States, as part of this arrangement, is making a currency drawing in sterling equivalent to 200 million special drawing rights (SDRs), or about \$170 million.

The arrangement was made necessary by the fact that IMF rules prevent the organization's accepting repayments in dollars at the time because its dollar quota is full.

The IMF said that Britain will use the currencies of several IMF member countries, including Deutsche marks, Dutch guilders, Belgian francs, Japanese yen, Italian lire, French francs, Austrian schillings and Canadian dollars, for the repayments, which will be made in full the outstanding British borrowings from the fund in 1969 and 1970.

All the transactions were stated by the fund in terms of units of SDRs, each of which is worth \$1.0887.

In London, the government said the repayment would consist of \$1.031 billion (\$80 million SDRs) and \$218 million (200 million SDRs) in charges previously paid in sterling. The latter part of the repayment was described as "repurchase" of the sterling.

Britain said about one-third of the total transactions will be made from its own holding of SDRs.

There had been several reports during negotiations over the repayment that the U.S. was pressing Britain to use its own SDRs to pay back nearly two-thirds of the debt, while Britain proposed a figure of only one-third. If the reports were true, Britain got its way.

The amount of SDRs used in the repayment was said to be important for Britain, because SDRs are backed by gold. Hence, unlike foreign currency reserves, they would not be subject to a relative decline in value in the event of a gold revaluation.

The repayment will mean that Britain is free for the first time since May, 1964, of official short- or medium-term debt.

EEC Orders Belgium To Trim Aid Program

BRUSSELS, April 27 (UPI).—The EEC ordered Belgium today to trim its ambitious program of regional development on grounds it gave unfair advantages to Belgian industry.

A government program, initiated in late 1970, dedicated aid to 41 of the nation's 44 districts which were deemed to be in economic difficulty.

The market's Executive Commission began a study of the program soon after, saying it feared that this widespread aid would give assistance to industries which did not really need it, thereby giving them an edge over competitors in other EEC nations.

The commission announced today the study had ended with an order that the 41 districts be cut back to 28 for a trial period of two years.

FINANCIAL NEWS AND NOTES

France to Build Plants in Russia

France will build a gas desulfurization plant in the Kazakhstan region of the Soviet Union and a paper-pulp complex in Siberia under an agreement "about to be concluded," according to Jean-Pierre Brunet, director of economic affairs at the French Foreign Ministry. The two countries signed a new protocol on Thursday covering various scientific, technical and economic fields. A joint statement issued in Paris, after noting the "fruitful" results obtained so far, said the new protocol is designed to "enlarge and deepen" Franco-Soviet cooperation. Further details about the two plants were not immediately available.

VW to Break Even This Year

Volkswagenwerk will about break even in 1972, reports Ludwig Poulain, chairman of Westdeutsche Landesbank Girozentrale and a member of VW's supervisory board. He says that VW is expected to report a profit in 1973, when new models are introduced. The automaker still has not reported earnings for 1971, which are expected to be small, if any. The company has said its auto operations ran at a loss last year.

Ford Cuts Car, Truck Prices

Ford Motor Co. is cutting U.S. car and truck prices an average of \$13 a unit "to assure that our 1972 profit margin will be within Price Commission guidelines." Ford earnings in the first three months were up 48 percent from the year ago period. The Price Commission early this week rejected a Ford request for an increase on some industrial products that would have added \$2 million to annual sales. Chairman Henry Ford 3d and president Lee A. Iacocca say a high sales volume and management efficiencies "have substantially improved our profitability." The company "anticipates no price increases on its North American built 1973 model cars and trucks, at least until January, 1973, except for a recovery of its costs of government required safety and emission control devices and for other equipment changes."

Watney Mann Predicts Higher Profit

Watney Mann, the U.K. brewer, is forecasting pretax profit of not less than \$23.5 million for the year ending Sept. 30, compared with \$22.9 million in the previous 12 months. In a letter to shareholders outlining the reasons why the board rejects the takeover bid from Grand Metropolitan Hotels, Watney also said it proposes dividends totalling at least 29 percent of par value, compared with 21.5 percent paid for the latest year.

Canadian Capital Outlays Rise Seen

Capital spending this year should exceed present intentions "by a fairly wide margin," the Bank of Montreal says in its monthly business review. Recently released estimates of capital investment intentions indicated an increase of only 4.9 percent from 1971, with little actual growth if one assumes a 4 percent price rise, the review says. However, the rapid expansion of corporate profits in 1971 and the strong pace of consumer spending have provided new grounds for optimism, and, judging by recent indicators, some upward revisions of investment plans may already have occurred, the bank says.

French Car Exports Increase 13%

French car exports rose 13 percent in March over the same 1971 period to 161,800 vehicles, the manufacturers association reports. Total auto production was 9.1 percent higher at 236,900 units and truck output rose 13.7 percent to 23,200 units—a monthly record for motor vehicle production.

Bayer Profit Rises 5.1% In Quarter

COLOGNE, West Germany, April 27 (AP).—Pharmaceutical Bayer's consolidated net profit rose 5.1 percent in the first quarter of this year, the company reported today.

Bayer's chairman, Kurt Hansen, set profits at 83 million Deutsche marks, up from 79 million DM in the same period last year.

Worldwide first-quarter sales rose 2.2 percent to 3.13 billion DM from 2.98 billion, Mr. Hansen said.

The figures were disclosed as Mr. Hansen discussed the annual report for 1971. Net consolidated profit for the year was down 12 percent, to 315 million DM from the previous year's 358 million, Mr. Hansen said.

Bayer declared a dividend of 8.50 DM, down from the previous 8 marks.

Alcan Net Down  
NEW YORK, April 27 (AP).—Alcan Aluminum Ltd. said today profits fell 5.3 percent in the first quarter, although revenue rose 11.5 percent.

Alcan said its net was \$144 million (75.5¢), down from \$152 million in the same period of 1971. Per-share earnings were 2 cents versus a restated 44 cents.

Gross revenue of the Montreal-based company was \$370.9 million, up from \$332.5 million in the first quarter of 1971.

Hawker Siddeley Gains  
LONDON, April 27 (AP).—Hawker Siddeley Group today raised its dividend on a net profit gain of 55 percent.

The group said net profit last year was \$124 million, up from \$88 million in 1970. Hawker Siddeley declared a final dividend of 9 percent, making a total of 15 percent for the year, compared with 13 percent in 1970.

Sales were up 3.9 percent at \$473 million compared with \$454 million.

Toray Profits Fall  
TOKYO, April 27 (Reuters).—Toray Industries Inc. net profit fell 27.8 percent in the half-year ended March 31.

Toray said earnings were 2.6 billion yen, down from 3.5 billion yen in the preceding six months. Sales were down 13.9 percent to 140 billion yen from 158 billion.

The company declared an unchanged dividend of three yen.

U.S. to Use Miscalculation To Pay Part of Public Debt

By James L. Rowe jr.

WASHINGTON, April 27 (WP).—For the first time in at least a decade, the Treasury, flushed with cash from tax checks overwithholding and other sources, said yesterday it would deliberately pay off a small portion of the public debt.

The public debt (currently \$428 billion) is the total amount of money the government owes—most of it to U.S. citizens and corporations, but some of it to foreign citizens and governments.

Treasury Undersecretary for Monetary Affairs Paul A. Volcker said the Treasury would use some of its excess cash to pay off \$700 million in government securities which mature May 15.

As part of its usual quarterly financing exercise, the Treasury will issue \$1.25 billion of 4 3/4 percent one-year notes and \$500 million in 6 7/8 percent ten-year bonds to offset the balance of the \$2.4 billion in maturing securities.

Treasury experts said it was the first time they could recall a deliberate repayment of public debt since shortly after World War II.

The Treasury often without specific planning pays off part of the public debt at its quarterly financings.

Many security holders decline to turn in one bond or note for another one and cash them in instead. For the last few quarterly financings, this so-called "attrition" has averaged about 30 percent.

The \$700 million which the Treasury will directly pay off is about 30 percent of the total of the maturing securities. In previous financings, however, the Treasury always indicated it would go back into the money market after the exchange operations were completed to pick up the amount lost by "attrition" plus some additional cash.

Mr. Volcker said that the bulk of the unexpected cash the Treasury has comes from overwithholding from paychecks.

Mr. Volcker said it was impossible to identify how much of the extra withholding collections are because of overwithholding and how much because of increased income.

But he said he would not be surprised if \$4 billion or more was overwithheld in the first six months of this year.

The government will have to pay back the overwithholding when tax returns are filed next year.

Mr. Volcker said the unexpected revenues could also reduce the projected deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 to as much as \$5 billion or \$6 billion.

The administration had projected a deficit of \$38.3 billion, but in addition to increased tax receipts, expenditures have fallen short of projections. Current estimates put the deficit under \$30 billion.

GM Profit Up By 6.7% to \$651 Million

But Quarter's Sales Unchanged From '71

DETROIT, April 27 (AP).—General Motors, the No. 1 U.S. corporation, had a profit increase of 6.7 percent in the first quarter, the company indicated today.

Figures issued by GM set earnings at \$651 million, or \$2.28 a share, compared with \$610 million, or \$2.12 a share, in the same quarter of 1971.

GM said its sales for the period were \$7.78 billion, unchanged from the like quarter a year ago.

Delta Air Lines  
Third Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 1,934 1,613  
Profits (millions) 8.77 3.05  
Per Share 0.45 0.16

Northwest Airlines  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 119.4 71.5  
Profits (millions) 28.51 18.62  
Per Share 1.49 0.97

Philip Morris  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 486.2 412.98  
Profits (millions) 27.45 21.45  
Per Share (Diluted) 0.97 0.77

Standard Brands  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 290.07 268.82  
Profits (millions) 10.06 9.07  
Per Share 0.75 0.68

Standard Oil Calif.  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 1,566 1,343  
Profits (millions) 122.99 119.28  
Per Share 1.45 1.41

Tenneco  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 774.0 635.5  
Profits (millions) 46.69 39.47  
Per Share 0.58 0.47

Trans World Airlines  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 231.5 235.5  
Profits (millions) -22.9 -38.2  
Per Share -1.91 -3.69

UAI  
First Quarter 1972 1971  
Revenue (millions) 373.8 338.8  
Loss (millions) -12.34 -33.21  
Per Share Loss -0.61 -1.83

Standoff on Wall Street After Nixon's Address

By Vartan G. Vartan  
NEW YORK, April 27 (NYT).—A cautious attitude prevailed on the New York Stock Exchange today following President Nixon's speech last night on the Vietnam situation—a big current worry on Wall Street.

With investors and traders tuned to Vietnam developments on a day-to-day basis, today's market performance was essentially a standoff. Automotive issues moved forward, while Polaroid continued to star.

The Dow Jones industrial average, showing only small changes throughout the slow session of 15.74 million shares, slipped less than a point. The Dow eased 0.97 to \$45.97.

Transportation issues trended downward, but utility stocks made a token comeback. With utility averages hovering close to their 1971 lows, some brokers have recommended these issues.

Polaroid flashed to a new high at 127 before finishing at 124 3/4, up 3 3/4 as the best point gainer on the active list. The stock ran up 7 1/4 yesterday after management demonstrated its new pocket-sized camera, which allows a photographer to snap five finished pictures in less than 10 seconds.

Eastman Kodak rose 7 8 to 117 3/8, after rising 1 3/4 yesterday. Berkey Photo, which moved up yesterday with the camera group, slipped 3/8 to 20 5/8.

Ford Motor sped ahead 1 1/8 to 71 5/8 on the strength of record profits in the March quarter. The earnings were released after the close of trading yesterday.

The nation's second leading car maker also said its first quarter unit sales support expectations that 1972 will be a record year for the industry and that forecasts of 10.5 million units in sales will be met this year.

Chrysler, up 1 1/8 to 33 3/4, raised its quarterly dividend to 25 cents from 15 cents.

General Motors finished the session up 3/8 to 80 1/4. IBM rose 1 to 381 after introducing a new optical mark reader in the computer applications field.

Xerox, also firm, moved ahead 3 to 137 1/2, while Walt Disney gained 3/4 to 164, and Honeywell 1 1/8 to 145 3/4.

Superior Oil, however, fell 1 to 69 5/8, with Natomas down 2 3/8 to 69 5/8. Standard Oil of California closed up 1/4 to 55 1/4. The latter reported a slightly higher first-quarter net.

Heavily-traded Alaska Interstate dropped 2 7/8 to 43 1/2. Prices eased in light trading on the American Stock Exchange. The Amer. index dipped 0.03 to 27.92, while declines topped advances, 329 against 370.

Turbover was 3.94 million shares, compared with 4.9 million yesterday.

In OTC trading, NASDAQ activities included Bank America, 24 1/8, off 1/8. First National City Corp., 87 1/2, up 1/4. Penn Offshore Gas (B), 8 7/8, unchanged, and Central Air, 6 1/2, unchanged.

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Quarterly Review...  
The Outlook for Interest Rates in the United States  
by Edward M. Bernstein  
A copy of this report is available on request.  
MODEL, ROLAND & CO., S.A.  
370, Rue Saint-Honore, Paris 1er  
Telephone: 265 93 50 Telex: 225 78

One Dollar—  
LONDON (AP).—The late or closing interbank rates for the dollar on the major international exchanges:  
April 27, 1972  
Today Previous  
Ster. (per \$100) 2.6115 2.6106-09  
Belg. fr. (A1) 44.24-26 44.18-20  
Swp. fr. (B1) 44.21-23 44.15-16-20  
Deutsche mark 3.1770-20 3.1760-65  
Danish krone 6.9970-80 7.0010-20  
Ecu (unit) 27.5-35 27.05-06  
Fr. fr. (A1) 4.875-875 4.8725-75  
Fr. fr. (B1) 5.036-035 5.0340-55  
Outlier 3.2202-221 3.2157-97  
Irish pound 4.20 4.20  
Lira 564.394.3 564.0-565.50  
Pound 64.549-545 64.5250-53  
Schilling 23.14-17 23.1250-1450  
Sw. krona 4.740-50 4.7307-11  
Swp. krona 3.8665-6620 3.8620-26  
Yen 364.35 363.95  
(a) Free. (b) Commercial.  
U.K. Banks Studying Stock Trade System  
LONDON, April 27 (AP).—A committee of 17 of London's top merchant banks announced today it has formed a company to develop a computerized stock trading system for large-scale securities dealing among major investment institutions.  
It said the stock exchange has been kept advised of the committee's intentions and further talks with the exchange are to take place.

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## New York Stock Exchange Trading

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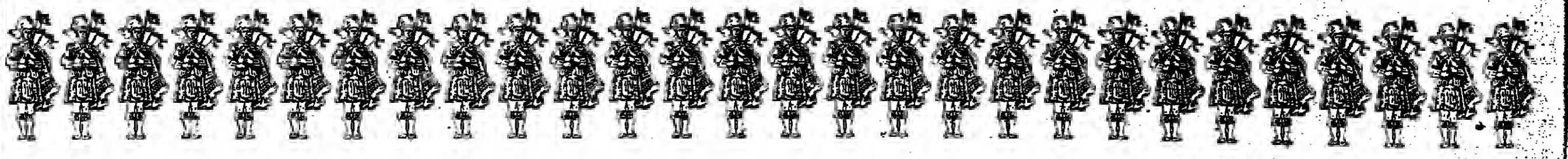
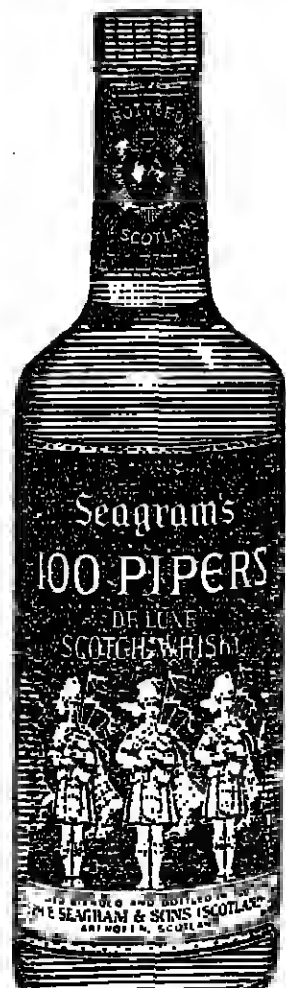
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# The 100 Pipers Legend.

**Our legend claims if you sip  
a perfect Scotch you'll hear 100 pipers play.  
That's a lot of Pipers. But then  
100 Pipers is a lot of Scotch.**

**100 Pipers Scotch. From Seagram, Scotland.**

100 Pipers Scotch Whisky. Bottled in Scotland. Created with the skill that has made Seagram the world's largest distiller.





حکمت از ابن ابی عمیر

[illegible]

30 1/2	30 1/2	Smith	Int	25	38 1/2	39	38 1/2	38 1/2 + 1/2	45 1/2
40 1/2	24 1/2	Smith	Int	42	50 1/2	54 1/2	54 1/2	54 1/2 - 1/2	29 3/4
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p	1.48 1/2	1.48 1/2	1.47 3/4	1.48 1/2	1.48 1/2	Oct
c	1.57 1/4	1.57 3/8	1.58 1/2	1.57 1/8	1.57 1/2	Dec
r	1.53 1/2	1.54 1/4	1.53 1/2	1.53 1/4	1.53 1/2	Feb
CORN						Apr

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## Market Summary

### Most Actives—New York

Gulf Oil	83.50	25 1/4	—	25 1/4
Boeing	357.00	27 1/2	—	27 1/2
Alaska Int'l	285.00	45 1/2	—	45 1/2
Am T & T Int'l	226.00	42 1/2	—	42 1/2
Conwealth Oil	158.25	1 1/4	—	1 1/4
Polaroid	127.00	10 1/4	—	10 1/4
Con Foods	122.50	37 1/2	—	37 1/2
RCA	122.00	57 1/4	—	57 1/4
Rembrandt CP	121.00	8 1/4	—	8 1/4
Royal Oil	136.80	34 1/2	—	34 1/2
Tesoro Inc	101.50	27 1/2	—	27 1/2
Midco Ross	61.00	6 1/2	—	6 1/2
ImpCoAm	100.00	2 1/2	—	2 1/2
Fednat Mig	95.00	2 1/4	—	2 1/4
Berkey Pho	94.50	20 1/4	—	20 1/4

Volume, all stocks, 15,740,000 shares.  
 Volume, 15 stocks, 2,812,000 shares.  
 Ratio, 15 stocks, 16.3 percent.  
 Average price, 15 stocks, \$32.78.  
 New 30's, higher; 48 lower; 65  
 Issues traded in: 1,760.  
 Advances, 874; declines, 733; un-  
 changed, 363.  
 N.Y. stock index: 58.89 +0.07; in-  
 dustrial: 65.01 +0.02; transpor-  
 tation: 83.85 +0.23; utility: 37.08  
 +0.08; finance: 79.90 +0.01.

### Most Actives—American

Syntex	173.25	85 1/4	—	85 1/4
Austral Oil	146.75	27 1/4	—	27 1/4
Coll Int'l	74.50	27 1/2	—	27 1/2
Comb Corp	70.25	28 1/2	—	28 1/2
Oreco Nat'l	67.00	26 1/2	—	26 1/2
Rkr Maan	59.25	5 1/4	—	5 1/4
Griggs Elect	54.50	24 1/2	—	24 1/2
Kaiser Ind	37.25	7 1/4	—	7 1/4
OKC Corp	43.50	7 1/2	—	7 1/2
Unbrnd wt	35.00	37 1/4	—	37 1/4

Approx total stock sales 3,870,000  
 Stock sales year ago 5,720,365

### American Stock Index:

	High	Low	Close	H.C.
28-1/4	27.91	27.72	27.72	-0.05

### Dow Jones Averages

	Open	High	Low	Close	Net
30 Ind	927.55	934.5	920.79	935.37	+ 6.87
30 Tr	269.47	267.95	257.57	255.55	- 1.93
15 Util	105.82	107.65	103.22	107.25	+ 0.44
45 Str	225.47	226.76	222.47	226.76	+ 0.55

### Standard & Poor's

	High	Low	Close	H.C.
425 Industrials	126.38	124.73	125.73	+ 0.37
30 Railroads	46.34	45.67	45.23	- 0.26
15 Utilities	35.20	36.44	36.49	+ 0.14
300 Stocks	107.49	106.42	107.25	+ 0.16

### Odd-Lot Trading in N.Y.

	Shares	Buy	Low	Close	Short
April 28	266,193	506,574	3,878		
April 25	280,433	511,889	2,417		
April 22	278,115	514,276	2,417		
April 21	300,447	525,290	2,525		
April 20	276,251	536,957	3,128		

\*These totals are included in the sales figures.

# International investors

The Cayman Islands International House Group

## The Cayman Islands

The Cayman Islands in the British West Indies have become a major centre for international investors. This development has been encouraged by the fact that there is modern corporate legislation under which exempted companies and trusts are guaranteed freedom from taxes for from 20 to 50 years. The Cayman Islands are a British Crown Colony, there is complete political stability and a highly-ordered monetary system. Bank secrecy is guaranteed by law. To learn more about this stable financial community write today for your free copy of the new Investors Chronicle special survey.

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FOR INFORMATION ON THE INTERNATIONAL HOUSE GROUP WRITE TO:  
 INTERNATIONAL HOUSE GROUP, INTERNATIONAL HOUSE, GRAND CAYMAN, BRITISH WEST INDIES



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PEANUTS  
B.C.  
L.I.L. ABNER  
BEETLE BAILEY  
MISS PEACH  
BUZ SAWYER  
WIAZRD of ID  
REX MORGAN M.D.  
POGO  
RIP KIRBY



BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

A pair of optimists might reach a decision on this deal by a sequence similar to the one shown in the diagram.

South opens one no-trump with a hand that would be a minimum for some players and a sub-minimum for others. North asks for information about his partner's hand with a Stayman bid.

When South first denies a major and then fails to support spades, North knows he must have a doubleton spade and three hearts. His raise of four diamonds to five shows at least four-card support, but also implies a minimum.

North is not deterred, however. After a couple of cue-bids he takes the plunge into seven diamonds.

With a red suit lead, South has a good chance to make 13 tricks without a club finesse by ruffing two hearts in the dummy.

hoping for six trump tricks, six spade tricks and the club ace.

However if the opening lead is a spade, as it might well be, this plan is difficult to execute. Now South is an entry short. If, for example, he wins with the spade king, ruffs a heart, cashes two high diamonds and uses the club ace as an entry to ruff another heart, he is stuck in the dummy and cannot return to draw the missing trump.

The obvious play after a spade lead is to lead to the diamond ace and take a club finesse. If this wins, the declarer can draw the remaining trumps with a chance of surviving against a 4-1 spade break.

There is a slightly better play as the cards lie. South should ruff a heart at the second trick and cash the ace-queen of diamonds. Since the diamond jack falls doubleton, South pulls the last trump at once, runs the spades and falls back on the club finesse for his 13th trick.

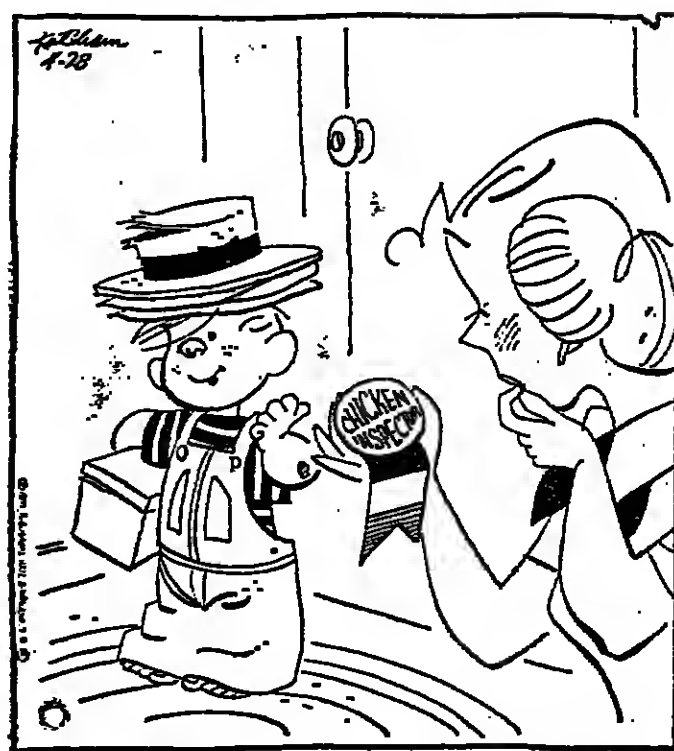
South can ruff another heart and return to his hand with the club ace to pull the last trump. If the diamond jack does not fall doubleton, South pulls the last trump at once, runs the spades and falls back on the club finesse for his 13th trick.

NORTH			
♠	AQ10842		
♥	—		
♦	AK43		
♣	654		
WEST			
♠	73	♥	J96
♥	AJ942	♦	Q10765
♦	37	♣	886
♣	K1082	♠	93
SOUTH (D)			
♠	K83		
♥	Q1052		
♦	AQJ7		
♣	—		
Both sides were vulnerable.			
South	West	North	East
1 N.T.	Pass	2 ♠	Pass
2 ♠	Pass	3 ♠	Pass
3 N.T.	Pass	4 ♠	Pass
5 ♠	Pass	5 ♠	Pass
6 ♠	Pass	7 ♠	Pass
Pass	Pass		
West led the spade seven.			

Solution to Previous Puzzle

DOWN	ACROSS
1. CONDUCTOR	1. SINGER
2. TROPICAL	2. FAIRWAY
3. GREEN	3. NEAR
4. ROMAN	4. SMALL TROPICAL DOG
5. WESTERN	5. MY
6. FRENCH	6. MADRID MUSEUM
7. EYE	7. PLANT
8. FINALS	8. AMARYLLIS FAMILY
9. ASPECT	9. MACHINE PART
10. WRONG	10. PLAYWRIGHT
11. NEWCASTLE'S RIVER	11. FROZEN DESSERT
	12. PREFIX FOR PAIN
	13. CHINESE DYNASTY
	14. PARTY GAME
	15. BELDAM
	16. WATERY FOOD
	17. CHICAGO NAME
	18. IRON AND STONE
	19. ANCIENT PORT OF ISRAELI NAME
	20. PAULING
	21. OPERA ROLE
	22. STREET SIGN
	23. SOURCE
	24. ALBANIAN RIVER

DENNIS THE MENACE



JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

UMBOX

DEKIN

UCCSAU

FLARTE

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Answers: AWOKE MINOR CLIENT BONNET

Yesterday's Answer: You just can't shut your eyes to this—LOOK

BOOKS

THE DUEL: De Gaulle and Pompidou

By Philippe Alexandre. Translated from the French by Elaine P. Halperin. Houghton Mifflin. 360 pp. \$7.95.

Reviewed by Thomas Lask

ALTHOUGH it may be rash to say so, I'm inclined to think that Charles de Gaulle, the president of France that was, and Georges Pompidou, the president of France that is, would not mind this book by Philippe Alexandre, a French journalist, on their close, intricate and sometimes difficult relationship. It was a relationship in which a neophyte subordinate grew sufficiently in power to supplant the man who had chosen him.

I don't mean that the men would necessarily have agreed with the picture of themselves they find in the book or with the facts or with the way the author has arranged them. But I think they would not have been hostile to his conception and treatment of their twin destiny. He has stripped the story of trivialities and pettiness, removed it from the realm of gossip and made the clash between the two an agonizing and believable one. He has revealed their character in the setting of history and thus added to the stature of his protagonists and to the historian himself. Is the story true? I think it is, but he has made it psychologically true, which is even better.

It has classic lineaments. The younger man, a surrogate son, is nurtured by the older man and taught his skills. At first the father/teacher bails his disciple for his selflessness and loyalty, then comes to suspect him and finally to distrust him. The younger man growing in strength and wisdom bides his time until he slips into the seat from which the older man has fallen. It is the world's oldest story.

When Georges Pompidou first came to the attention of the general, right after World War II, he was a nobody and had nothing going for him. But he had desirable virtues: he was methodical, efficient, patient, imperturbable and never gave the general a bad time. And when he first met the great man he was not ambitious. He had not even thought seriously about politics. As one commentator said of him later: "He had nothing in his hands, nothing in his pockets."

He performed naturally and well the tasks assigned to him and in the process discovered talents he never knew existed: a skill in handling finances, an ability to manage and run a political campaign, a good administrative staff for Paris. De Gaulle left politics in 1946 out of disgust with French parliamentary procedures. Pompidou retired as well. But circumstances kept them in touch. Pompidou accepted a post with the Rothschild bank; De Gaulle evidently didn't mind having a collaborator in such a position. And Pompidou helped Mrs. de Gaulle in administering a foundation established in the memory of a daughter who had died.

Thus he was both independent of and close to De Gaulle. And since he had taken no part in the intramural jockeying for power, he had no firm enemies. When, in the Algerian crisis, De Gaulle was called back and set about changing the structure of the French republic, Pompidou came back as premier and in a sense as his right-hand man. But all knew that power resided in De Gaulle. Without him, none of them would have been where they were.

In his sketch of the general, Mr. Alexandre has outdone himself, creating a man at once unique, crochety, moody, mercurial, demanding and imperial, light years away from the calm, stoical, confident figure we assume from the standard photographs and sketches. He had the sense of destiny and the promiscuous attitude of a Douglas MacArthur, the narrow confidence of the first Henry Ford and an ambivalent attitude to the French people that one usually finds only in the family.

There is something of high comedy in his pretense of aloofness to politics on the one hand and his ward-boss scrutiny of it on the other. He could perform the most ungracious act in the name of France, eviscerate a colleague in the name of duty, and summon up the words "treachery" and "traitor" when a policy of the injured party. Men in his cabinet handed in their resignations every day, which he brushed aside with some surprise. Couldn't they see it was all done for France?

But with the years, the general began to show his age. It took much longer to reach a decision. He became moody and uncertain in his feelings. He was surprised by the inflation, by the student riots, by the labor strikes. And he began to lose his hold on his countrymen. Watching from the sidelines after having been let go as premier, Pompidou began preparing himself for the inevitable day. In a statement he made in Italy while on a visit there, he remarked reasonably that when the general stepped down, he would naturally be a candidate for his office. It was the shrewdest political move of his career. For it at once gave the people of France as well as the Gaullists an option for the continuance of Gaullism without De Gaulle. Suddenly the void that threatened with the removal of De Gaulle proved to be a mirage. It is uncertain whether the general ever forgave Pompidou for making this statement.

In Elaine Halperin's easy and uncluttered translation, the writing is very Gallic: impressionistic, full of delicate touches. One thing is said and five suggested. The background is skimpy; those not easily at home in recent French history will find themselves asking questions that go unanswered. But it is not intended as a book of political substance, in that regard; whether a policy or course of action worked or not, it is, as I have said, a study of character. That these are true historic figures only adds to the novelistic richness of the book.

Mr. Lask is a New York Times book reviewer.

CROSSWORD

By Will Weng

ACROSS

1. Slinger Johnny  
5. Fairway call  
9. Near  
14. Small tropical dog  
15. word  
16. Madrid museum  
17. Plant of amaryllis family  
19. Machine part  
20. Playwright Marc  
21. Frozen dessert  
22. Prefix for pain  
23. Chinese dynasty  
24. Party game  
31. Beldam  
34. Watery food  
35. Chicago name  
36. Iron and Stone  
38. Ancient port of Israeli name  
40. Pauling  
43. Opera role  
45. Street sign  
46. Source  
49. Albanian river

DOWN

1. Bay of Maine  
2. Choir voices  
3. Sparse  
4. Green insect of old radio  
5. Roll up  
6. Hyaline  
7. Glowing  
8. Letters  
9. Covered, in a way  
10. Carriage  
11. Gullage pit  
12. Japanese herbs  
13. Ran

18. Conductor Solit  
21. Russian village  
23. Stubbhorn  
25. Brave cockney  
26. Southern capital  
27. Attack  
28. Rubber trees  
29. Armstrong  
30. Novice  
31. Moiety  
32. Trade discount  
33. Knee  
37. Miscellany  
39. Expert  
42. Mark with grooves  
44. Copland  
47. Further  
48. English county  
51. Lane  
52. French pewter  
53. Strained  
54. Coarse grain  
55. Egyptian god  
56. Buffalo of India  
57. Roll into a ball  
58. Comb's milieu  
59. Elaine's flower  
61. Grass genus

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13

14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30

31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53

54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67







## Only One Year to Live

By Richard Kisonak

Ah, a sad postscript: the rental car, which has only 2,200 miles on the odometer, already has a rust spot on its right rear fender.



There is one thing I am going to try very hard to do. I hope I can hold my head high when it happens and handle it like a man.

asked a Fresno, Calif., court to dissolve his marriage with his third wife, former actress Dolores (Dee) Tatum. The Medal of Honor winner has lived in Fresno since undergoing two operations for cancer. AILING: Cliff Arquette, 66, the actor who appears on U.S. television as Charley Weaver, the homespun wit from Mount Ivy, who was hospitalized in West Covina, Calif., after apparently suffering a heart attack last Sept. 10. He is being judged by San Diego judges who administer the path of office to

"Women's lib hasn't helped in child-rearing," said Mrs. T. Sargent Shriver, sister of President Kennedy, wife of the former U.S. ambassador to France and the mother of five children. "It has been good in job discrimination and things like that, but it has resulted in the downgrading of the whole concept of motherhood. The idea now seems to be that housewives should do anything to get out of this cause, leaving the children's minds unlettered."

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